



THE EAST AND WEST REVIEW

AN ANGLICAN OVERSEAS QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1960

LATIN AMERICAN PROBLEMS

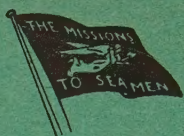
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Vol. XXVI No. 1

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EDITOR

The Rev. Canon Fenton Morley
24, Acland Crescent, Denmark Hill, S.E.5

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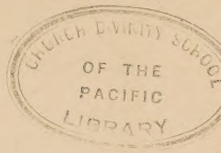
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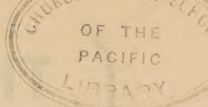
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EDITORIAL

WITH typical Anglican reticence the EAST AND WEST REVIEW has refrained from celebrating with trumpets and shawns its Silver Jubilee. This number of January, 1960, begins our twenty-sixth annual volume in which we are endeavouring to supply our subscribers, who now number more than five thousand, with news, views and features on the life of the world-wide Anglican Communion. In this issue the news element predominates, with our surveys of the situation in Latin America, by Bishop Stephen Neill, a report on an important aspect of Indian developments by the Reverend Leonard Schiff, a discussion of what is involved in the proposed new Province in East Africa and an assessment of recent events in China by an anonymous contributor. We appreciate that some of the issues raised in these articles are of a controversial nature and we should be glad to make space available for the printing of correspondence which would be of interest and value to our readers. We should, however, point out that for any such letters to be included in our April number, they would have to be received by the Editor not later than the first week in February.

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Robert Browning wrote:—"God's in his heaven—All's right with the world" and books about the Kingdom of God sometimes tend to be equally rhapsodic. But the S.C.M. has recently published at 10/6 a work by Fr. Gabriel Hebert S.S.M. which is both stimulating and disquieting, uncomfortable reading for those who equate the Kingdom with the Church as it is in the modern world, and yet providing "comfort" in the Biblical sense for all who seek to find and live by the truth about God, Man and Society. His title—"God's Kingdom and Ours"—indicates Fr. Hebert's approach to his subject. He contrasts the Biblical idea of the Kingdom with the witness of the Church in Asia and in the West, the relevance of the Gospel to human life with the apparent irrelevance of the Church to contemporary human needs and concerns. "The world is in a mess; and the Church is in a mess too, because it has become entangled with the spirit of the world . . . of the old world which is passing or has already passed." One of the most rewarding sections of this book is that in which the author examines F. D. Maurice's "Six Signs" signifying spiritual realities of the Kingdom of God—baptism, the creed, forms of worship, the eucharist, the ordained ministry, and the Bible—and discusses the extent to which the real meaning of these is being demonstrated today.

The question "What is really happening in the mission field?" is usually answered in terms of developments either in the environmental situation with its economic, social and political developments, or within the life of the Church itself in respect of its training and use of the ministry, its medical and educational work, its evangelistic outreach, its ecumenical relations, or its relation to non-Christian religions. But there is something else happening in the mission field and this is the increasing trend

towards the internationalizing of missionary activities, a subject which has an important bearing on missionary policy and ecumenical developments. In the seventh of the International Missionary Council's Research Pamphlets published by the S.C.M. Press at 5/-, the Reverend R. K. Orchard presents a very useful consideration of the subject in its historical setting and in the light of recent events. It demands a fresh assessment of the "base" of the Christian mission, the nature of the "mission fields" and the relation of the Christian mission to world culture. Mr. Orchard makes a realistic appraisal of the difficulties of creating an international organization for missionary action through which, and under whose auspices, existing agencies engaged in mission might be encouraged to conduct their work.

In the eighth of the I.M.C. Research pamphlets, published under the title "The Gospel and Renascent Hinduism" at 4/-, P. D. Devanandan offers an enlightening study of the many aspects of modern Hinduism and of its challenge to Christian thinking and evangelism. Of particular interest is his examination of the critical approach to Christianity of people whose primary concern is national solidarity and others who would encourage Christians to evangelize—but from within Hinduism and not in opposition to it. Mr. Devanandan argues that the proclamation of the Gospel to the Hindu today must be related to a new understanding of the meaning of secularism, service, personality and community.

"We Came to a Village" (Highway Press, 5/-) by Gladys Shaw is at first sight simply a day-by-day account of Miss Shaw's pastoral work in the Aurungabad area of India. There have been many such books in recent years. But this is in some respects unique. It has a strangely moving quality not least in the quiet and effective way in which it describes the constant but subtle pressure upon some Indian Christians to abandon their faith.

"Tell in the Wilderness" is the title of a Highway Press publication at the modest price of 2/6 of the C.M.S. Book of the Year by Canon Max Warren. With illustrative material from many parts of the world the author discusses the principles, objectives and methods of the proclamation of the Gospel, beginning with a frank study of the ways in which Christians misrepresent Christ in their way of living and teaching.

The Penguin and Pelican Series continue to make available at low prices religious classics and new works of religious interest. Students of the philosophy of religion will welcome a 3/6 edition of Rudolf Otto's work "The Idea of the Holy" and historians will appreciate a new translation of Josephus' "The Jewish War" by G. A. Williamson (5/-). Edwards Conze has made a new translation and selection of "Buddhist Scriptures" which is refreshingly comprehensive in that it does not include only those Buddhist writings which would be acceptable reading to this modern age. The Dean of York and Canon G. W. Briggs have edited a most useful selection of prayers published at 3/6 as a "Pelican" under the title "Daily Prayer".

LATIN AMERICA AS AN ANGLICAN PROBLEM

By the Rt. Rev. S. C. NEILL

“**T**HE continent of the future”. Which is it? To this question every Latin American would give a perfectly confident answer. He sees himself as the inhabitant of a vast, thinly-inhabited part of the world, in some areas already immensely rich, in others almost certainly dowered with as yet undiscovered wealth, with a mingled, prolific and vigorous population, heirs to the great traditions of Iberian culture. Here is the real meeting point of old and new, the new world in which the culture of the old can take on new life, as it adapts itself to the new situations and problems of a continent large parts of which are still the realm of virgin and untamed nature.

This is a somewhat romanticized picture. Yet who can deny that there are in it elements of solid truth? Our old world is overcrowded. At the present time Brazil which is considerably larger than the United States has a population of less than sixty million, less than twenty to the square mile. Is there any other part of the world equally well-adapted for rapid development and expansion without the loss of human and civilized values?

Until 1821, the whole of this great new world belonged to the two empires of Spain and Portugal. Gradually the whole has become independent; and, with the disappearance of the short-lived Empire of Brazil, and the still briefer episode of the Empire of Mexico, every part now lives under a republican government. The Latin American temperament does not seem to lend itself easily to the orderly processes of democratic government, as these are understood in Britain and the United States. Revolutions and changes of government are frequent, and none of the republics has had a tranquil history of uninterrupted development. The Latin American would probably claim that all this is evidence of the vigour of young peoples, which have not yet had time to work out that system of government which best fits their own inclinations and way of living. He might darkly hint at the sinister policies of older and stronger powers. For if there is one thing on which all these countries are agreed, it is that they are determined to be themselves, and not to be colonies or dependencies of either Europe or North America.

Viewed from Europe, Latin America appears as a fairly homogeneous unity. Once the various countries are studied, the remarkable differences between them begin to appear. Mexico is very conscious of itself as heir of the Aztec tradition, and does not feel that it belongs to either North or South America. Bolivia, Paraguay and to some extent Peru are republics in which the Indian strain in the blood and in the national character is very strongly marked; in Paraguay one will hear as much

Guarani spoken as Spanish. Uruguay, often called the Switzerland of South America, is the typical secular state, with a highly developed form of welfare-state government. In Argentina, perhaps the majority of distinguished citizens will be found to have Italian names; the country was largely built up by British capital and industry; the system of education is French; modern commercial contacts are mainly with the United States; but the common language is Spanish. Brazil is a glorious mixture of Portuguese, Negro, Indian, Japanese, German and all the rest, and rightly prides itself on the absence of race and colour barriers in its code and in its life. In Haiti the background of life and of civilization is French, not Spanish. To every generalization that can be made, at least six exceptions must be recorded.

The one thing that is true of all the countries is that they have belonged to the world of the Roman Catholic Church. Many of the early conquistadores combined a genuine zeal for the spread of the Gospel with cupidity and a reprehensible unscrupulousness in getting their way. Some of the remoter Indian tribes have remained almost wholly untouched by any Christian influence; but the vast majority of the population everywhere has been baptized in the Roman Catholic Church.

But Roman Catholics themselves would be the first to admit that the general situation is far from satisfactory. In many areas Christianization was superficial in the extreme. Everywhere the shortage of priests is terrible. In Uruguay, the Church has on the average only one priest for every 8,000 nominal Roman Catholics. Even in better equipped countries, the number of non-practising Roman Catholics is far higher than that of those who perform even their minimum duties. In Chile it is reckoned that not more than eleven per cent of the people are really attached to the Church. The general level of achievement, moral and spiritual, is low.

Strenuous efforts have been made in recent years to put things right. Especially notable has been the work of priests from the United States, sent out by such Orders as the Maryknoll Fathers. Observers in such countries as Chile and Cuba have warned those who do not view the Roman Catholic Church with any too friendly eyes not to under-estimate it; in other areas that Church has shown astonishing powers of recovery; the turn of Latin America may come in the second half of the twentieth century.

This being the state of the countries and of the Church, it is not surprising that a number of Protestant bodies, particularly in the United States, have regarded Latin America as a legitimate field of missionary endeavour. As long as Spain and Portugal were in control, these lands were closed to Protestants; since the wars of independence, there has been a steady history of infiltration—aggression, the Roman Catholics would call it—by Protestant Churches and sects of every type and hue. The Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists have won notable successes, especially perhaps in Brazil, where all these churches are strong, vigorous and marked by an intensely strong spirit of independence. In the past twenty years the Methodist Church in Brazil has trebled its numbers; it has plans of expansion in every direction. For the most part the converts have come from the poorest section of the population. But,

when Latin Americans become Protestants, they give up drinking, they work harder, they begin to save, and in no time the Protestant proletariat gives way to a Protestant bourgeoisie. The congregation of the Presbyterian Church in Copacabana, the fashionable suburb of Rio de Janeiro, is obviously prosperous, almost aristocratic. Its minister serves two days a week as professor of law in one of the universities of the city. Not so long ago a Protestant was acting President of Brazil.

This growth in education and prosperity is certain to continue. Nevertheless the great success of the Protestant missions has in the main been among the down-and-outs. Wealth and direst poverty subsist in Latin America side by side. In such cities as Rio and Caracas, terrible slums, into which the police hesitate to enter, climb up the hillsides almost out of the streets in which the Cadillacs go rushing to and fro. The Roman Catholic Church has made little impression on this misery. Others have here come into their own. And more than any others the Pentecostalists have reaped a rich harvest. Christians of many groups, all of which may be classed together as Pentecostal, have shown a unique capacity to find the poor where they are and to proclaim to them the year of the Lord's release. In several Latin American countries Pentecostalists outnumber all other evangelical Christians together. They live by emotional, almost corybantic, worship. It would be difficult to say what theology they profess. Yet changed lives and social renewal testify to the depth and reality of the Gospel which they preach. In Chile the most notable group passes under the odd name of the Methodist Pentecostal Church. All are alike in having a very loose organization, little training, if any, for a regular ministry, and free reliance on the prophetic gifts given by the Spirit to lay people. It is, however, the opinion of many in the more regular churches that the time is not far off when, through growth in numbers and in education, the Pentecostalists like all other great movements of renewal in the Church, will be compelled to face the problems of consolidation—Church order, a regular ministry and provision for its training.

Many of the Protestant missions have been marked by an almost exaggerated dislike of the Roman Catholic Church, and their preaching has not been such as to conciliate the feelings of members of that Church. Not unnaturally there are areas in which Protestants are not very popular. The degree of opposition varies very much from area to area. In Uruguay and Brazil religious liberty would seem to be almost untrammelled. In many other countries there is little to complain of. Colombia alone has acquired an unenviable notoriety by persecution of Protestants. There may have been some exaggeration in the reports sedulously circulated by some of the American missions; there may have been undue provocation on the part of some Protestants; there was certainly great unwisdom in the attempts made to capitalize on America influence in South America. Yet, when all allowances have been made, this is a sorry and shameful history. It is believed that under the President elected in 1958, Dr. Lleras y Camargo, a man of the highest integrity, things will go very much better.

It is impossible to give even an approximate estimate of the number of Protestants in Latin America, and growth is so rapid that an estimate

given today will be out of date tomorrow. It may be thought that five million is roughly the correct figure; if sympathizers and loose adherents are to be included, the figure should probably be higher.

Two great Churches have stood aside from the movements to which so far we have been referring.

The Lutheran Churches so far have been almost entirely Churches of the European immigration. The majority have been Germans. But the Lutheran Churches of the River Plate region now arrange for services in nine languages. Today, however, the situation is changing. Most of those who come to South America come for good. Their children will gradually become assimilated, as in the United States, and will lose their hereditary language. Lutherans are beginning to realize that, unless they frankly adopt Spanish and Portuguese as the regular language of worship and instruction, they will remain minority Churches unrelated to their surroundings and incapable of bearing witness in the general life of the countries in which they exist.

ANGLICAN WORK

What has been said of the Lutherans can be said with few changes of the Anglicans also. Anglican interest in the Latin American countries goes back a long way; the congregation in Rio de Janeiro dates from 1819; Captain Allen Gardiner founded his mission on the bleak shores of Patagonia in 1844. But for the most part, we have been amateurs; we seem not quite to have made up our minds whether we were simply visitors, or whether we really belonged.

Anglican work in the Latin American world has followed three main lines.

Chaplaincies have been founded and maintained in almost all the capital cities, and in other places where people of British origin and Anglican faith have assembled. In past days British influence was very strong and numbers were very large. Until the end of the nineteenth century, Valparaiso was a very important port; there were enough English people to fill the great pro-cathedral on the hill, where now there is hardly a handful. The organization of these Churches was peculiar. Many of them were almost like limited companies, appointing, paying and dismissing their chaplains without reference to any bishop. Some of the chaplains had a licence from the Foreign Secretary and saw no reason to suppose that they needed also a licence from a bishop. The diocese of the Falkland Isles was founded in 1869; many strange tales are told of the difficulties experienced by the heroic missionary Bishop Stirling, the first occupant of the See in asserting even a minimum of episcopal authority. For a time, a second diocese, that of Argentina and Eastern South America, was brought into being; but the two are now held together by Bishop Ifor Evans.

These chaplaincies were founded to care for British subjects and to hold worship in the English language. In some countries, such as Colombia, Anglican priests entering the country have to give an undertaking that they will not do any work in Spanish. The rule of no proselytization has been strictly observed; as a result relations with the

Roman Catholic Church are usually excellent; recently a Roman Catholic prelate who had hard things to say about Protestant missions in general specifically excepted the Anglican Churches from his objurgations.

The rule of services in English, however, has had some grave inconveniences. It has always been observed that, when people are permanently settled in a country, the original tongue lasts to some extent into the third generation, but then begins to disappear. This has happened to our British folk in South America as much as to any other group. The wealthy, who can send their children to England or to the famous St. George's School at Buenos Aires, for education of course retain their English speech and their English ways. Others have grown up in the country with Spanish as much their native tongue as English, have married into Spanish-speaking families, and naturally have been lost to us. Some have become Roman Catholics, others have joined one of the Spanish-speaking Protestant churches. Our rigid observance of a rule laid down in very different times must be adjudged to have involved grave lack of a sense of responsibility to our own people; by remaining a Church of the aliens, we have rendered ourselves incapable of serving those of our children who have become loyal citizens of their new country.

The lead of Allen Gardiner has been followed up in noble fashion by the missionaries of the South American Missionary Society, a small society, but one which has been privileged to have giants in its employ. It has gone direct to Indian peoples which have never in any way been touched by the Roman Catholic Church. The three main fields have been northern Argentina, the Chaco of Paraguay (surely the most unpleasant region inhabited by man anywhere on the face of the earth!), and the far south of Chile. Glowing testimony has been paid by governments to the work of the missionaries. Converts have been won and Churches built up. But here we are faced by all the difficulties of backward peoples surrounded by a civilization which is very different from their own, and to which they find it extremely difficult to adapt themselves. These Indian Churches have so far made less progress towards producing their own leadership than had in earlier days been hoped.

The attitude and policy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States has been in sharp contrast to that of the Church of England. The Americans have entered many countries in Latin America; where conditions of religious freedom have made it possible, they have gone far beyond caring for the needs of their own people, and have carried on extensive work in Spanish and Portuguese. As we have seen, such multitudes of people in these countries are uncared for by that Church to which nominally they belong that it is hardly right to speak of proselytism; but this American policy has introduced a new and grave complexity into the Anglican situation in Latin America.

The complexity is at its worst in Brazil. Here more than seventy years ago Dr. Kinsolving descended with all the enthusiasm of "Virginia Low Church", and started work in the far south, apparently in blissful unawareness that he was entering upon an already existing English jurisdiction. A few years later he was consecrated Bishop for Brazil, with the idea, so far unfulfilled, that the Brazilian Church should become an

independent Christian fellowship with Anglican relationships. The "Igreja Brasileira" now has three missionary districts, two of the bishops being Brazilian-born. There are about 35,000 adherents, and rather more than sixty priests. No great difficulty arose as long as all this work was carried out in the South, far away from all those cities in which the Church of England had chaplaincies. But English influence in these countries has declined, as American has advanced. When the American bishop moved himself to Rio, the conflict between jurisdictions could no longer be concealed. An arrangement was reached between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the presiding bishop of the American Church, by which the territorial jurisdiction of the American and Brazilian bishops is recognized, but the English chaplaincies remain under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Falkland Isles. The document in which this agreement is set forth is hard to construe, and many problems of jurisdiction as yet remain unsolved.

The English Church in recent years has set itself to create as rapidly as possible independent Churches in the "mission field". American policy has been completely different. In the United States only a completely self-supporting area can become a diocese; other areas are Missionary Districts, bishops for which are not elected by the area concerned but are chosen by the House of Bishops of General Convention. In Missionary Districts there are no parishes, there are only "missions", and here the clergy are directly appointed by the bishop. The American missionary bishop has more direct authority than almost any of his episcopal colleagues in the Anglican Communion. There may be much to be said for this system in the United States; there seems very little to be said for it as an article of export. No area in Latin America is self-supporting; therefore there are no dioceses. Each area is simply in a state of colonial dependence on the American Church, represented indeed in General Convention, but with very little in the way of local self-government. At a time when nationalism is so strong, indeed, fierce, in Latin America, and when these feelings of proud independence are shared by most Anglican Christians of Spanish and Portuguese speech, this late continuance of colonial methods is hardly to be commended. For instance, a new bishop was recently needed for Central Brazil. The choice fell upon the Rev. Edmund Sherrill, the second son of the presiding bishop. It is generally agreed that no better choice could possibly have been made; Mr. Sherrill speaks Portuguese well, and is highly acceptable to both Americans and Brazilians. But it is just the fact that the election was made at Miami beach, and that the Brazilian Church as such had no real say in the choice of its own chief pastor. The same is true of Mexico. Under Mexican law the bishop must be a Mexican citizen. But in the election the Mexican Church had no direct say.

The Anglican pattern is thus curiously complicated. Just to round off the picture, it should be mentioned that Venezuela is in the diocese of Trinidad, though it is unlikely that any Bishop of Trinidad has ever learnt Spanish; and that, though British Guiana is part of the mainland of South America, its face is turned away from it, and it can hardly be reckoned as a part of the problem that we are considering.

BASIC QUESTIONS

The Anglican Communion as a whole has to ask itself one basic question: Are we prepared to take the Latin American world seriously? If the answer is No, *cadit quaestio*. If the answer is Yes, a large number of things need to be done in a very short space of time.

Are we prepared to take seriously the English-speaking people? In Colombia, which is in the American missionary district of the Panama Canal Zone, there are thirteen places in which Anglican services ought to be held. Instead of the two priests now in the field, there ought to be a team of five, with the necessary provision to make them mobile. It is said that there are already in Venezuela 40,000 people of English speech, and the number is likely to increase with the increasing exploitation of Venezuela's oil. Instead of one priest at Caracas and one at Maracaibo, once again there would be a team of five, of whom one should if possible be a West Indian. There is no Anglican priest at all in Ecuador or Bolivia, but the communities there are small. It should be a rule that any English chaplain going out to these parts should spend six months in an American parish, and every American six months in an English parish—many difficulties could be avoided, if we started with a better understanding of one another than can at present be counted on.

Are we prepared to follow our people, when they cease to speak English, and need to be cared for in Spanish and Portuguese? A small beginning has been made with the ordination of a Spanish-speaking deacon in Buenos Aires. Some of the clergy are bilingual. Where political conditions or understandings do not hinder, are we prepared to go ahead, and regard it as a natural part of our ministry to develop work in the local languages? If so, where are the necessary priests to be found and trained?

Are we prepared to do the hard re-thinking involved in bringing the Indian work more fully into the life of the Church? I had the feeling that the majority of our people in the cities have hardly heard of this wonderful work, and that very few of the chaplains had ever visited a mission station. It would not be at all easy to bring together two such disparate kinds of work into a living fellowship, but it ought not to be beyond the wit of man to find means by which this can be done.

Are we prepared to face the challenge presented by the new intellectual élite in the Latin American countries? The great majority of the educated young people are entirely outside the Church, and for the most part wholly materialistic in their outlook. But there are signs that a change is coming. Like their opposite numbers of Europe, they have begun to realize that materialism has no answers; they are not convinced that religion has, but are perhaps less unwilling than they were to consider the possibility. In most places the Roman Catholic Church has no message for them. They can be reached only in their own languages. In place after place Latin Americans said to me. "Why does your Church do nothing? With your tradition of a scholarly approach to the questions of faith, and your more liturgical worship, you have something to offer that at present no other Church is offering." Are we willing

to take up this responsibility, and, if so, where do we find the men to discharge it?

Are we prepared to *belong*? If so, we shall have to abandon the term *Anglican*, as we have in China and Japan. We shall have to make the sacrifices involved in becoming national and local Churches. The strongest opposition to such an advance would probably come from our own loyal people on the spot, to whom the Church is precious as being almost the only thing in their situation that still speaks of home. Can we take the risk of dying to live?

These are some of the questions that have to be asked and answered; and the answer ought to be found soon.

NECESSARY CHANGES

Before much progress can be made, some radical changes in the administrative structure ought to take place. To save space, it may be convenient to express my own opinions quite dogmatically, recognizing that others may have views which by no means coincide with my own.

The Caribbean area should at once be made into an independent province, made up of national Churches with a great deal of local independence of their own. Unfortunately the American Church does not think in terms of provinces, in the sense in which that term is used in other parts of the Anglican Communion. But the area is in some sense a unity. There are already seven missionary districts—Mexico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Central America, and the Panama Canal zone. All are Spanish-speaking, except Haiti which speaks French. The proud independent spirit of the people would probably be satisfied with such an arrangement. It might be necessary for a time to arrange for some outside influence on episcopal elections; but this need be no more than a temporary expedient. But of course other Anglican Provinces would have to go on helping these districts with gifts of men and money, until the local Churches are very much stronger than they are at the present time.

Steps should at once be taken to make the Igreja Brasileira into a genuinely Brazilian and independent Church. This would mean the immediate formation of a fourth diocese. Numbers are small, but the area is gigantic, and a new diocese could well be brought into being in the north and west. It would be an advantage if for a considerable period one of the bishops was American and one British. Special arrangements would have to be made to secure the rights of English-language congregations within a national Church, as has been done in India and in many other parts of the world. The Igreja Brasileira should be given complete freedom to decide for itself whether it would wish to be a fully Anglican province, or whether it would find its destiny, like the Episcopal Churches in Spain and Portugal, as an independent Church closely related to the Anglican world. The choice should be exercised independently of any financial considerations.

This would leave the Spanish-speaking republics of South America to be considered. Ultimately, if the work is taken up seriously, it should be possible to bring into existence a third province in this part of the world. For the moment, it could well be divided between one British

and one American diocese, the former based as at present on Buenos Aires, the latter perhaps on Lima.

All these developments would depend on serious attention being paid to theological training in the Latin American languages. This question is very much exercising the bishops in the Caribbean area. The Igreja Brasileira has a small and weak seminary at Porto Alegre. Far better work could be done, if this was brought up to Campinas, where the Presbyterians have the best seminary in Brazil. The experiment of a united seminary has been tried at Matanzas in Cuba, with Episcopalian co-operation. A similar move would probably have better success in Brazil, if the two seminaries worked side by side but independently, with common teaching and library facilities, but with separate arrangements for discipline and worship.

And whose business is all this? It is literally nobody's business. There is a fair amount of contact between British and American bishops, and this is all to the good. But no one in the world knows in detail what the Anglican situation is throughout the whole of this vast world, because literally no one has ever studied it as a whole. In a day when conferences have become the bane and the disease of the Church, it takes a good deal of temerity to suggest the holding of yet another. But I believe that an All-Latin-American Anglican Conference is very much overdue. It should be preceded by two years of hard study, and by a number of local and regional conferences. It should be attended by a small number of representatives from each of the dioceses and missionary districts; by representatives of Britain, the United States, Canada and the West Indies, the provinces most interested in Latin American affairs; by leaders in the missionary enterprise, and by some Anglicans who just know a great deal about the Anglican Communion.

When Bishop Stephen Bayne takes up his work at the beginning of next year, I hope that this will be one of the first things to engage his attention.

EAST AFRICA: THE PROPOSED NEW PROVINCE

By The BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR
(THE RT. REV. W. S. BAKER)

AS long ago as July, 1927, a Basis of Agreement for the Formation of the Province of the Church of East Africa was drawn up by a representative Conference held at Nairobi and the following resolutions were passed:

1. The Conference considers that the time has come for the formation of an association of the Dioceses of Eastern Africa with an ecclesiastical Province of the Church, to be called the Province of East Africa, in full communion with the Metropolitan See of Canterbury and all the other Churches of the Anglican Communion.

The Conference recognizes, "that there are other ancient episcopal Communion in East and West to whom ours is bound by many ties of common faith and tradition. On the other hand there are the great non-episcopal Communion, standing for such elements of truth, liberty and life which might otherwise have been obscured or neglected. With them we are closely linked by many affinities, racial, historical and spiritual. We cherish the earnest hope that all those Communion and our own, may be led by the spirit into the unity of the Faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God". (Quoted from Lambeth Encyclical, 1920).

2. The Conference requests the Bishops of Nyasaland, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Upper Nile and Masasi and the Bishop Elect of the proposed Tanganyika Diocese, (i.e. Central Tanganyika. Consecration of first Bishop, 1st November, 1927), to submit to their Synods or other Governing Bodies the resolutions of this Conference with a view to the inclusion of their several Dioceses in the proposed Province.

3. The Conference earnestly recommends that the Province take every possible opportunity of action for the furtherance of the ideal of Reunion as set forth in the "Appeal to all Christian People" issued by the Lambeth Conference of 1920.

A fourth resolution submitted a number of recommendations, which followed, for incorporation in the Constitution of the Province "Hereafter to be drafted".

But thought and discussion on the formation of this Province had not begun in 1927. In 1914 Archbishop Randall Davidson, in his efforts to find an answer to the question raised by the Kikuyu Conference had consulted with the Bishops of the dioceses in East and Central Africa as to the possibility of forming a Province. Owing to the outbreak of the First World War nothing further happened until the Lambeth Conference of 1920.

In the Zanzibar Diocesan Gazette published in March, 1920, there is a note by Bishop Western to say that he hopes to call a Synod after his return from the Lambeth Conference, to hear his report, and if necessary to take note of any matter the Bishops may commend—"I hope to be able to report then, that a Provincial Synod of Bishops has been erected for East Africa". During the course of the Conference the Bishops of Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Mombasa and Kampala met together under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Zanzibar. In August a memorandum was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, embodying proposals which the Bishops would lay before their dioceses on their return. It was stated in this document that "the Title of the Metropolitan is not yet determined. Suggestions are East Africa; East Central Africa, and the Great Lakes".

It was at this time, too, that the important decision was made that the bishops of the dioceses concerned should form a standing committee, so as to secure continuity of action. How very essential this step was, is proved by the future history of the negotiations.

As already stated the bishops, together with representatives of the clergy and laity, met at Nairobi in July, 1927, and drew up the Draft Agreement. They met again in 1931, 1933 and 1937. The bishops were of one mind as to the urgency and necessity of the Province in spite of the many difficulties, ecclesiastical, geographical and financial, which it involved, but in addition to all these the proposals put forward in the Draft Agreement had given rise to considerable misunderstandings as to their intention and bearing in some of the dioceses.

THE 1937 STATEMENT

The nature of these difficulties and misunderstandings is made clear in the letter which the bishops assembled in Conference at Kampala, Uganda, in October, 1937, issued to their dioceses after full discussion of the whole position as it then appeared. The letter opens with the statement that it is now two years since the Conference met in Nairobi and unanimously agreed that the time had come for the formation of a Province.

"While the reasons which then convinced the Conference remain unchanged the difficulties that lie in the way have been perhaps more clearly seen. While it would be idle to evade or disguise these difficulties yet however formidable they may appear to be, none of them is, we believe, insuperable.

(a) GEOGRAPHICAL

"There are practical difficulties which are unavoidable in a land of such vast distances, where communications are still in a primitive state, and travel is costly and often slow. These difficulties will lessen, as communications by road, rail and air improve. In any case, if, as we believe, mutual consultation between the diocese is imperative, means must be found of overcoming these geographical and financial difficulties; for the very fact of the distances separating one diocese from another only emphasizes the necessity of meeting together from time to time, if purely isolated and independent policies are to be avoided.

(b) ECCLESIASTICAL

“The East African Province as proposed would include dioceses connected with the Church Missionary Society and the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Ecclesiastical differences between these two groups cannot be ignored, but must not be unduly emphasized.

- (a) All three dioceses are already included in the one Anglican Church under one Archbishop. In England, different types of churchmanship co-exist side by side in every diocese, and in every large town.
- (b) Each type has, we believe, a contribution of real value to make to the Church as a whole.
- (c) In the proposed Provincial Organization, no decision of the Provincial Synod would be binding on any dioceses in the Province unless and until it is accepted by the Synod of the diocese itself. It is therefore clear that neither group would be in a position to dominate the other, nor indeed would it desire to do so.
- (d) If, in some minds, the practical difficulties of the two groups working harmoniously together loom too large, the alternative is fraught with far greater dangers. If two homogenous Provinces were to be formed the one of U.M.C.A. and the other of C.M.S. dioceses, each developing along its own particular lines, it would be only too easy for each Province to drift apart from one another. Such a result would be disastrous to the Church in East Africa.

“Again the question of reunion has been prominent for the past twenty-five years. It is felt by many that, were an East African Province to be formed including the U.M.C.A. dioceses, proposals at present under consideration might become unwelcome or impossible. In view of this felt difficulty the formation of a purely Evangelical or C.M.S. Province has been suggested. Any plans for a larger unity in East Africa must, if real unity is to be secured, include all parts of the Anglican Church in that area, and such plans have a far better prospect of success if they come with the consent and goodwill of the whole Anglican Church in East Africa, rather than from one part of it, perhaps in the face of strong criticism from another part. The unification of the Anglican Church in a single province should therefore be the first step towards that large unity, for which we shall never cease to work and pray.

(c) POLITICAL

“There is a fear in the minds of many that ecclesiastical union might pave the way to closer political union in East Africa. These two questions are really, however, independent of one another.

(d) RACIAL

“One of the greatest of the advantages of a Province will be the building up of a self-governing African Church, as truly African as the Church of England is English. There was a time in its early history, when the Church in England was wholly a foreign institution, dependent

on a foreign episcopate. Gradually however, the power passed from the foreign missionary to the native-born Englishman. But long before that transference could be complete a Provincial Organization had been already introduced.

"The impression that seems to be in the minds of some that the formation of a Province would result in European domination in the Councils of the Church, is based on a complete misunderstanding of the position. In an African Province, Africans will from the first take their full part, and their contribution is of vital importance. Nothing could be further from our thoughts in suggesting a Province, than to deprive the African of his rightful share in the Government of the Church. A Province would not weaken, but enormously strengthen the African position.

(e) RELATION TO CANTERBURY

"The formation of the Provinces in East Africa would involve the transference of certain powers, at present belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of the East African Province. But while the direct allegiances of the dioceses would be transferred from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Archbishop of the Province, the same privilege of direct access to Canterbury, should occasion arise, will remain; difficult problems could still be referred to him and if referred not by a single bishop but by the whole Province would demand and receive even more than usual attention. At the same time East Africa would have the added advantage of having its own archbishop, resident in the country, understanding its problems from within and devoting himself to them.

"It should be borne in mind that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself is strongly in favour of the formation of a Province, and there is no doubt that it would be a substantial relief to him personally.

"We have no wish to minimize the difficulties, geographical, ecclesiastical, political or racial. But even with these difficulties fully in view we emphatically re-affirm our original decision of 1927, that a Province would be in the best interests of the Church in East Africa."

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The Bishops then proposed that a representative conference be held at Nairobi at the end of the year at which consideration would be given to the alternative of adopting the whole Provincial system as defined in the Basis of Agreement published in 1927 or, as a transitional stage, of setting up a House of Bishops only. They also stated that they had no intention of attempting to impose a Province unless it was acceptable to the Dioceses concerned, nor could they be content to form a Province of such dioceses as were already willing to enter while other dioceses remained outside.

Unfortunately these explanations and proposals did nothing to allay doubts and fears where these existed, and in the event it was considered unwise and unprofitable to attempt to call the representative conference which had been proposed.

There followed another long period of nearly twenty-five years during which no further definite steps could be taken for the formation of a Province. But during that period the Committee of Bishops continued to meet regularly. These meetings gave practical expression to the Church's fundamental principle of fellowship, offered opportunities for mutual consultation between the dioceses, facilitated common action in regard to Governments and other Provinces, and tended to obviate the danger of isolation. Much practical work was also done in considering Baptism and Marriage regulations with a view to drawing up a body of Canons in readiness against the time when a Province should be formed.

In 1955 the Bishops once again gave serious consideration to a proposal put forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that, instead of forming one inclusive Province, the objections to which seemed at the time to be insuperable, a series of smaller Provinces might be created, their boundaries corresponding to those of the Uganda Protectorate, Kenya Colony and the Territory of Tanganyika, with the Protectorate of Zanzibar.

Each Province would have from the beginning three Houses of Bishops, Clergy and Laity, and its own Archbishop or Presiding Bishop. To avoid the dangers inherent in creating a series of small and weak Provinces, there should be an Archbishop of the whole Church and a central Synod, or as was later proposed that certain powers should be reserved to the Archbishop of Canterbury, until each Province had reached a further stage of development.

In 1955 the two Dioceses of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, which were founded as a result of the work of U.M.C.A., had entered the newly formed Province of Central Africa. Throughout the East African Dioceses both African and European opinion had moved a long way since the stormy years of the late twenties and early thirties.

1956-1959

When in 1956 the above proposals were put before the Standing Committee of the Mombasa Diocesan Synod a unanimous wish was expressed that further consideration should be given to the original plan that the Province of East Africa should embrace the seven existing Anglican dioceses of East Africa. If this for any reason should not prove possible for the dioceses in the Uganda Protectorate, then a Province should be formed which would embrace the dioceses in Tanganyika and Kenya together.

This suggestion was welcomed by the dioceses in Tanganyika, the dioceses in Uganda deciding to go forward with their own Provincial Organization. A delegate conference was held at Dodoma in January, 1959, attended by the bishops, representative clergy and representative laity of the dioceses of Mombasa, Zanzibar, Masasi, Central Tanganyika, and South West Tanganyika.

In 1931 Bishop Willis of Uganda wrote as follows concerning the formation of a Province; "the really vital question with which we are concerned is: Is this thing of man or of God? If it is merely a convenient arrangement it may well come to nought: but if it is of God, as I cannot but believe it is, we must believe that He will bring it to pass in His own way and time. . . . We understand our differences, and I for one believe

that in spite of these differences there is a deep underlying unity and a common need of one another; and behind it all the impelling purpose of God." Those who attended the Dodoma Conference were moved by the Holy Spirit to hide nothing, and to hold nothing back, and all would agree that the words of Bishop Willis most exactly describe the spirit in which they considered the Draft Constitution, which had been drawn up, and which moved them unanimously to agree; "That this conference of delegates from the dioceses of Mombasa, Zanzibar, Masasi, Central Tanganyika and South West Tanganyika requests the respective Diocesan Bishops to recommend to their Synods (or Governing Bodies of the Church in their Dioceses) that the assent of the Archbishop of Canterbury be sought to the immediate formation of a Province of the Church of East Africa consisting of the dioceses named."

The Synods of the Dioceses of Mombasa, Zanzibar and Central Tanganyika have accepted the recommendation, in each case empowering the Bishop with the standing Committee of the Synod to seek final agreement on those points in the constitution on which the findings of the Synods are not yet unanimous.

The Synod of the Diocese of South-West Tanganyika meets in November. In Masasi Diocese a majority of the Synod and a conference of representatives of the laity, while reaffirming a previous resolution of Synod in favour of this formation of a Province in principle, did not agree with the recommendation of their delegates to the Dodoma Conference to the immediate formation of such a Province, and asked for further time for consideration. If the Synod in South-West Tanganyika accepts the recommendations, the four dioceses will go forward in the hope that they will soon be joined by the Diocese of Masasi.

The Anglican dioceses of East Africa have stood apart from each other already too long. Through all the years since the formation of a Province was first contemplated those most closely concerned with the negotiations have again and again been brought to the conviction that it is in accord with the known purpose of God, and have been given a vision of what it can mean to the life and witness of our own Communion and the whole Church of God in the days to come.

A Province will add efficiency to the machinery of the Church, but it will do more than that. It will make its influence a great power in the face of heathenism, Islam and the spiritual dangers which always accompany the beginning of a new civilization such as is now coming to Africa.

It will also enable the traditions and riches of Anglicanism to be presented in their fulness in all efforts now being made for the Reunion of Christendom.

ON UNDERSTANDING THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN CHINA

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

IT is well known that there is not much information readily available in the West about the situation of the Christian Church in China today, or even in the last few years. There is in fact more information than is sometimes supposed. The flow of correspondence, though much smaller than a few years ago, has not wholly ceased. There are still occasional visits to China, or meetings of Chinese and Western Christians at such occasions as the Vienna Youth Festival, and in these and other ways the support of news is provided for fellowship in faith and prayer.

It is perhaps not so widely understood in the West that our difficulty is not only, or even, it may be, primarily, a matter of lack of knowledge. It is still more difficult to understand what information we have. Our difficulties of understanding arise partly from the fact that most of us have no experience of life in a People's Democracy, and have great difficulty in entering imaginatively into it, and partly from the fact that when we seek to make the effort it is difficult to avoid looking at this unfamiliar scene through Western spectacles which distort what we see before we have seen it. While therefore in these notes I shall try to say what I can of what I believe the present situation to be of the Chinese Church, I shall be even more concerned with the question of how we are to attempt understanding.

It will be convenient to start with a statement issued by the Standing Committee of the Conference of British Missionary Societies last spring, of which the following is the full text:—

“News has been released recently which indicates that there have been critical developments in the situation affecting the Churches in China. There has been a compulsory unification of the main Protestant denominations, the number of local congregations has been drastically reduced, and Church property thus no longer used has been handed over to the Government. It is said that the normal pattern is for cities with a population of some 500,000 people to have one Church only. Reports state that out of the sixty-five Churches in Peking only four remain, and of Shanghai's two hundred Churches the number remaining open for united services has been variously reported as between twelve and twenty-three.

There is some confirmation in this country of this news. To it can be added that ministers and salaried Church workers have undergone long periods of political training, and are expected to seek secular employment.

It seems right that this information should be given publicity, if only

that prayer on behalf of the Churches in China may be offered with awareness of their actual situation. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind:

i. That by no means are all the facts known. Present information covers only certain areas and cities. Little or nothing is known of the pattern of Church order and life that is taking shape. It is too soon to draw final conclusions.

ii. That it is not easy to be sure of the right interpretation of the facts that are known. It could be that what is happening is part of China's "grand leap forward" into the great social and economic experiment of communes in which every section of the community is involved. It could be that the Chinese Churches are regarding "Church divisions and denominational names as vestiges of Western nationalism". It could be that fewer Church buildings are now needed for worship, partly because there may be fewer Christians, and, partly because the demands of the present phase of the revolution make attendance at public worship increasingly difficult. It could be that other factors altogether are behind these current developments.

iii. That the available information indicates that the reorganization of the Churches at the local, provincial and national levels is being made the responsibility of the Churches themselves under the general direction of the "Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee".

It may be that the Churches in China consciously give thanks to God for their opportunity to wrestle on His behalf with the problem of His Church in the setting of China's new social order. To the extent that this is done their experiment and experience in regard to the exercise of the ministry of the Church, and the witness of the laity, will be of value to Churches in other parts of the world."

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This statement was released after, and it may be presumed partly because of, a much more decisive and alarmist statement released by Religious News Service in New York. The remarkable feature of the CBMS statement is its insistence that not all the facts are known, that it is not easy to be sure of the right interpretation of those that are known, and that it is at least possible that the "obvious" explanation of the development of the autumn of 1958—that these were a further and possibly decisive stage in the process by which the Communist party hopes to squeeze the Christian Church quietly out of existence—is not the right one, but that we ought not only to look for evidence of Chinese Government pressure but also seek to understand the social and economic realities of the Chinese scene and take sensitive pains to discover in the actions of the Church a creative response to the will of God in their situation (which is different from ours). One may further hazard the guess that the reiterated "It could be . . ." of the statement reflects the known differences of opinion that there are among former China missionaries and others concerned with China about how to understand China and the Chinese Church today.

II

These differences of presupposition may be conveniently considered under three questions.

Is Chinese Communism to be understood as Chinese or as Communist?

On the one hand, as Prof. C. P. Fitzgerald has shown in *Revolution in China* (London, 1952) the People's Government, a centralized ideological bureaucracy, looking for its commercial and other relations landwards rather than seawards, is more in tune with the Chinese governmental traditions in the long centuries since the Han Empire, than the various efforts at some kind of semi-Western style parliamentary democracy of the years between 1911 and 1949. There is a sense in which the Communists are more conservative—more continuous with the national tradition—than the Nationalists. On the other hand, the delusion that the Chinese Communists are some kind of agrarian radical, which was not uncommon in the early '40s, is and was then a delusion. One missionary remembers re-reading in 1949 the passages in *Red Star Over China* in which Edgar Snow reported interviewing Mao Tse-tung in Yen-an in the thirties about his plans for China, and reflecting that he was now, fifteen years later, seeing them being put into practice. If we ever supposed that the Chinese Communists were anything but Communists, or were Communist in some special sense that robbed the thing of its sting, we were mistaken—probably because we were guilty of the sin which has bedevilled Western views of China at least since the eighteenth century when the reported virtues of Chinese humanism were used to support the doctrines of the Enlightenment—the sin of viewing the Chinese not in themselves but instrumentally as ministering to Western hopes or Western fears. Thus a decade or two ago, men disillusioned with the "Christian West" sought to discern a truer Christian civilization in the China of Chiang Kai-shek; and more recently, men disappointed of these hopes see nothing but a Communist devil seeking whom he may devour. The truth is more complex; and to get at it requires both an understanding of Marxism and an understanding of Chinese civilization: and this is for most of us a tall order.

A considerable help is available in the second (Harvard University Press, 1958) edition of Professor J. K. Fairbank's *The United States and China*, which is far more about China than about the relation of the U.S. to China, and treats Chinese-U.S. relations in a manner which applies substantially to Chinese-British relations. The book has a careful annotated bibliography and is much the best Western book to start with. Fairbank's view is that we must follow both the Communist and the Chinese road in seeking to understand China today. He might agree that if one is in a situation in which people are inclined to put everything down to Communism, it is doubly important to stress the importance of businesslike empirical Chinese response to Chinese facts and problems, as Fitzgerald does. After all, the basic reason why the Communists won was probably that they understood the actual problems of China more clearly and profoundly and set themselves to meet them with more discipline and determination than their rivals.

The second question is related: *Are developments in the Church the result of Communist pressure or Christian conviction?*

The milieu in which Church leaders work in China is quite different from the indifference of Britain or the "boom in religion" of the U.S.A. In America, Christian leaders may feel that their problem is how to prevent the Gospel being smothered by an affluent human religiosity; in Britain, how to find a way to speak a living relevant word that may break through to an increasingly religionless society. These problems and dangers are real and serious; but they are quite different from those of Church leaders in a People's Democracy, where it can reasonably be held that the overriding need is for the Church to be manifestly no longer living remote from its own people in a sort of semi-foreign ghetto but acutely concerned with and participating in the hopes and fears of its own people. If, for example, the Chinese bishops felt that God required them to forgo the fellowship of the Lambeth Conference in order that they might take part in and be seen to take part in the "great leap forward in Socialist construction", it is far from certain that they were wrong. They would probably also be aware that the presuppositions which their fellow-bishops from other countries would bring to the discussion for example of international affairs would be so widely different from their own, that they might be faced with a difficult and embarrassing choice between stating, as a small minority with but little outside support in the Conference, the views which in common with the rest of the Chinese people they hold; or of being committed by the views of the majority at Lambeth to opinions which in China would mark them as being still "imperialist". In something of the same way there is evidence that in parts of British Africa at least some younger African Christians are beginning to ask whether Christian obedience may not require them to be ranged decisively in the nationalist camp, even if the struggle for independence requires violence. All this is not to say that the "leadership of the Communist party" has suddenly disappeared and the Party makes no effort to secure that its line is understood and supported. It is merely to insist that in China as in Eastern Europe there are more factors to be taken into account than the pressure of the party—and even that the party line will often seem reasonable in itself. For example, Asians who remember that the West tried out nuclear warfare first on Asians may not have found it difficult to believe that we also tried out the further refinements of germ warfare, fantastic as we ourselves rightly hold these charges to be.

And so we come, thirdly, to the question: *Are the articulate leaders of the Chinese Church Communist "stooges"?* The short answer is "No". There are possibly some leaders in whom the Christian substance has been so attenuated that they have ceased to be able to give anything but a political answer to any question. (I have, in fact, heard one Chinese leader in China make precisely this criticism of one of his colleagues. Perhaps missionaries should ask themselves how far they share some responsibility for this attenuation.) There may be others who have bowed before the wind, and seek a solution in the compartmented mind. If so, they are not unique. But the core of the leadership of the "Three Self Reform" movement consists of men and women who have held very "left" political opinions for decades and who are also clearer and profounder today in their Christian discipleship than they were, say,

fifteen years ago. To them, this is a genuinely great new day of God's making, in which it is a privilege to be allowed to serve him; and they are in obedience to him engaged on a positive and constructive Christian Reformation.

Perhaps a historical parallel from the time of our own Reformation may be relevant. If you were a devout Catholic in Spain in the sixteenth century, you would hear with distress and indignation of events in England, and you would find it difficult, perhaps impossible, to believe that the leaders of the Church of England in the Tudor period were anything more than time-servers and place-seekers, that the only possible course for Christians of integrity was that taken by Thomas More and John Fisher. There are Anglicans who hold that the English Reformation was in fact put across a subservient Church by an unscrupulous and tyrannical state: a view of this kind is implied in Chapter 16 of Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*. But do many of us believe that Cranmer and others were nothing more than "stooges"? That More and Fisher, for all their heroism and sanctity, were pursuing the right line? Above all, that there were *no* positive features in the English Reformation, all tangled up as religion was with statecraft and patriotism and economics?

The three questions we have considered are the sort of questions that tend to be asked by people in the West—a Western, rather hostile, interrogation of Chinese Christianity. It should not be supposed that the Chinese have no questions to address to us. They are of this kind: Why do you not protest more against your Government's support of the Union of South Africa and its racist policies with their denial of elementary human rights? Why have you assented to prolonged nuclear bomb tests with all their dangers to later generations from radio-activity? Do the letters W.C.C. stand for World Council of Churches or Western Council of Churches? and if the former, why are the W.C.C.'s political pronouncements so closely related to U.S. State Department policy? Our feeling that these are loaded statements of complicated questions which do not lend themselves to short straight answers should enable us to enter into the irritation (not to use a stronger word) that our Chinese fellow-Christians feel at the way our questions are often put.

Indeed in relations of this kind, as for example also in relations between Churches, the approach "I want a straight answer: Yes or No?" is one that in some circumstances ought to be avoided, at least for a time, if understanding is to grow and minds and spirits to draw nearer. Will Anglicans and Presbyterians grow nearer if we batter each other with demands for "straight answers" to enquiries like "Is episcopacy of the *esse* of the Church?", or will the painful and difficult search for mutual understanding not be made more difficult? Ought we not rather to attend to what "episcopacy" and "*esse*" and "Church" mean, and have meant in our respective historical traditions, and might mean if God were to give us fresh eyes and a common vision?

III

Approaching from this standpoint what news of the Church in China

in 1959 has come his way, the present writer would be inclined to generalize in something of the following manner.

In numbers, the Chinese Church is about holding its own. They dropped by about one-third, in the years after 1949, with the exodus of the "rice-Christians", and have since recovered. On an ordinary Sunday, however, congregations will usually be quite small, partly because in China as elsewhere "Christians" are not always at a pitch of white-hot fervour, and also because there may be special difficulties in finding the time for church worship. Adult baptisms in small numbers are always being reported, from many parts of the country.

Great changes took place in the autumn of 1958. In 1950 and immediately following years, church and mission schools and hospitals were nationalized, but the property used by the Church was left in its hands. Much of this property was let out for rent; even so, the church buildings must often have been far from fully used. At this stage there seems to have been no movement for union of congregations, which were often small and struggling, or of denominations which were divided in most Chinese eyes by their origin in different missions rather than by significant theological principle. In 1958 there took place a large-scale amalgamation of congregations accompanied both by disposal of surplus property and by departure into secular jobs of a number of people who were previously full-time church workers.

Is there still a Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (literally, Holy Catholic Church in China—the Chinese province of the Anglican Communion)? Probably not. It is known that in at least some cities, the Anglicans have joined with others in the local union; and that foreign visitors to China have in conversation heard such phrases as "What have you as an ex-Anglican to say to that?" I know of no evidence (which is not the same as saying there is none) that the usual issues that Anglicans raise in "Faith and Order" discussions were effectively raised; and one must also say that in the Sheng Kung Hui generally there has rarely been much conviction about them. I regret this deeply, but I doubt if our Chinese friends can be accused of "selling the pass", for I doubt if to them it ever seemed terribly worth defending. If there is fundamental substance in the points which divide Anglicans from, say, Methodists, did we communicate this substance in a way which would enable the Sheng Kung Hui to lay hold on it and live by it? This is a searching question, and of a relevance that is not limited to China.

To this summary may be added an extract from a statement by very recent Western visitors to China. The Rev. C. F. Gribble reported in the *Methodist Times* of Queensland (August 13th, 1959) on a visit by a small group of Australian Churchmen (not including any Anglican—there was an Anglican Australian visit in 1956) who visited Czechoslovakia, Russia, and China last summer:

"In China the position must be assessed against the background of recent history, involving the termination of the relationship of Western missions with the Church in China. This has demanded a great effort of re-adjustment upon the part of the Church, which has found expression in what is known as 'The Three-Self Movement' directed towards the objectives of self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. In the

process the Church is being required to work out a theology and a policy of her own which aims at the application of all that is good in the Christian heritage to the situation in which the Church now finds herself. One thing which the Church in China believes to be inimical to her welfare is the perpetuation of denominational divisions.

"A process of dissolving denominational division without loss of distinctive emphasis is going on. Whilst churches in Shanghai were obviously well attended, it was explained that the major emphasis at present is not upon numerical expansion, but upon raising the standard of the Church's witness to the community.

"In all three countries visited, there was evidence of the Church's appreciation of the efforts of the State to improve the lot of the common man. There is a spirit of deep satisfaction upon the part of the Christian community at their identification with the people generally in their total life. There is no problem of a gulf between the Church and any section of the community as all are working together for the achievement of the ideals of a full life and adequate provision for every member of society. There seems to be genuine conviction upon the part of Christian people that it is possible to be a believing and practising Christian in a Communist State.

"It is inevitable that, in a society organized upon the basis of Marxian philosophy, a person of Christian conviction must experience some disadvantage. This, however, is accepted cheerfully as the price to be paid for the privilege of maintaining a Christian witness. It is, nevertheless, possible for a Christian to attain to high position in the life of the State. In China, there are some Christians who are members of the National People's Assembly—the highest legislative body. It must be admitted that in China there are fewer places of Christian worship than there were prior to 1949. That is in part explained by the fact that the existence of splinter growths was responsible for redundant churches and wasteful competition. These have not been able to survive the demands of the changed situation, and more adequate use is being made of the churches which remain. As the delegation moved amongst the people in company with national Christians they noticed the respect with which the latter were invariably regarded."

I have spoken throughout of "the Church" not of "the Churches" believing that the plural is now out of date so far as all or almost all non-Romans are concerned—the unions seem to involve the Conservative Evangelical "sects" as well as the former mission "churches". About the Church of Rome I have said nothing. Their situation has been different, mainly because the Pope is both a political figure and a theological entity in a way that is without parallel elsewhere. The Archbishop of Canterbury is not in that sort of sense a political figure; and if he were, it would be possible for an independent province to disown his politics without involving themselves in theological difficulties. For these and other reasons, the Roman Catholic experience has been far more sombre. A number—perhaps a large number (I have seen the figure of 250 quoted, but it may not be reliable)—of consecrations of bishops have taken place without the authority of the Holy See. This is canonically irregular, but provided the other conditions for a valid consecration

were met—and there is no reason to suppose that they have not been—heresy is not involved, and the formal decision whether schism is involved has, I think, yet to be taken. That decision is likely, one would suppose, to be related to what proportion of the Roman Catholic Church in China turns out, “when the dust has settled”, to have come to terms with the People’s Government.

IV

In conclusion, perhaps one can add two things, which arise from the foregoing.

First, since the basis of our relationship with our fellow-Christians anywhere is that they are brothers for whom Christ died as he died for us, and we are all alike related to him as justified sinners in process of re-making by his grace, we have no alternative but to trust our Chinese fellow-Christians as they have no alternative but to trust us. We shall differ, we shall make mistakes, we shall sin: these things can be said of all of us. A time may come when we can in this world sort out our differences—and the Lord will attend to them all anyway at the last day. Let us try to add to that an imaginative effort to be with them in Christian solidarity as they strive to serve our common Lord in the situation in which he has called them—which is not the same as the situation in which he calls us. Let us pray for them—yes, indeed, but prayer is a subtle business, and like other human activities open to corruption. It is possible to pray against people when one fancies one is praying for them. It is unlikely that they wish to be prayed for as victims of a diabolical tyranny—do we wish them to pray that we may be delivered from Anglo-Saxon imperialism, just like that? And let us try to rejoice with them where they seem to be rejoicing.

The second thing is this. A rather large part of the world, and of the Church, is under Communist rule. We think of our part as “the free world”, and they think of their part as “the free world”. Is the maintenance of fellowship, in the heavenlies and on earth, across this divide of real importance? Does it not involve trusting people “warts and all”, in Oliver Cromwell’s phrase? It is easy enough to have a good feeling for people on the other side who accept our politics and so on and are suffering for it; but what about people who seem to us (as we seem to them) to be *failing* in Christian witness? In the end, the question of our relations with the Church in China is not a question that we ask the Chinese (or they us) but that God asks us all.

CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNITY IN INDIA TODAY

By the Rev. LEONARD M. SCHIFF

IT may well be that the recent inauguration of the East Asia Christian Conference at Kuala Lumpur will prove a landmark in church history. It represents a real point of departure in the progress of the ecumenical movement and the growth of the churches in this area. From looking out towards the parent churches of the west, these young churches are beginning to look towards one another.

Throughout this whole area there are certain common factors. Most, if not all, of these countries have in the fairly recent past rebelled against western control and attained independence. All are areas "of rapid social change", facing revolutionary demands on the part of their people and many of them are witnessing the revival of ancient faiths. Buddhism is becoming militant and Hinduism is experiencing a veritable renaissance. Thus, the witness of the Church has to be given in the midst of this revival of religions and the struggle of peoples to build a new society on new foundations.

To speak of a revolution in Asia is no exaggeration but in this situation the question which needs to be asked is the relation of this Asian nationalism and revolution to the purpose of world history. Without this understanding it will not be easy for Indians, for example, to decide what kind of nation to build and what is the true responsibility of citizens. Thus, behind the stirring of old religions and the growth of secular ideologies lies a search for the true meaning of life.

Marxism undoubtedly had a great influence on such an Asian leader as Jawaharlal Nehru but as he says "that proved too narrow a creed and whatever its virtue as an economic approach, it failed to resolve our basic doubts". There are signs of a very real disillusion as to secular ideologies. In this situation what contribution have Christians to make?

There are some who continue like Gallio to care for none of these things and to see the task of the Church to convert and save a few out of the destruction of doomed humanity but there are Christians in India today who feel that there is a Christian basis for concern with the struggle of Asian people for a new structure of community life and nationhood. The Assembly at Kuala Lumpur had no doubt about it and insisted that "the whole of social and economic life is included in the cosmic purpose of God" and that in this we are "fellow-labourers with Christ". It asks what is Christ doing in Asia today and they see Him at work "in the revolutions of contemporary Asia releasing new creative forces, judging idolatry and false gods, leading peoples to a decision for or against Him and gathering to Himself those who respond in faith to Him in order to send them back into the world to be witnesses of His Kingship". Effective witness demands real participation in the new life of Asia today. Failure at this point has been due in large measure to the inheritance of a pietistic Christian tradition together with the

escapist tendencies inherent in much traditional non-Christian faith. Is the trend to industrialization just materialistic and to be condemned? Economic welfare has to be seen as a necessary means to the good life and only condemned when it is regarded as an end not a means.

The search for material security and economic justice is a new motif in Asia and it may be related to that abundant life promised by Our Lord. Millions today no longer believe that they are condemned by an evil fate to a life of misery and hunger. With false spiritual motives this concern may become a curse but the relation of economics to the Christian meaning of life needs great emphasis and clarification in India today. While it is clear that we are not saved by productivity or technical development, these may be gifts of God and a mark of His providence to men at this time. Because the churches have often been deficient in their doctrine of Creation the initiative was passed to the materialists. This is disastrous, for the need of the hungry masses reaches to heaven and here is a challenge to full Christian engagement in nation-building, not on the basis of expediency but with a solid theological justification.

Against this background we may try to see what God is doing in India. We may say that there has been a real emancipation. Serious efforts have been made to get rid of old feudal patterns of land holding and large programmes of land development and attempts at rural finance and credit but these efforts have not yet succeeded in overcoming rural unemployment or in making the country self-sufficient in food and this is obviously linked with the increase of population. Yet it is clear that only the development of co-operative farming can ensure the best utilization of land. This is producing a great debate in India. Community projects have in some parts proved fruitful and here we must see how significant this is.

In the past the word "community" was used in India in a very special sense quite alien to its normal sociological connotation. When we use the word in the west it suggests "coming together", overcoming divisive factors but in India community is a source of division and many of India's troubles are attributed to "communalism". The decision to make India a secular state was in large part taken as a weapon against such communalism with its background of separate electorates and Hindu-Muslim strife.

Economic development is often hindered by the continuance of the traditional caste or communal group or joint family which in the past has prevented any mobility of labour or change of occupation or methods of work. This static form of community was given sanction by the classical forms of religion which tended to adopt a fatalistic or negative attitude towards the world and inculcate a spirit of resignation. The breakdown of this traditional life has often led to corruption and moral confusion as the old forms of social control decay or prove irrelevant.

Now for the first time the word "community" is beginning to have a dynamic meaning as in the west. It is an area of common living and a means of common welfare. Surely it is of paramount importance that Christians should play a major part in this transformation of community! For the Church has distinctive insights based on the Bible with its understanding of the dignity of work, concern for social justice and

personal freedom, protection of the rights of women and the demand for responsible action in community life.

Industrial and labour associations are growing as the result of the need of peasants and workers to protect their rights and prevent exploitation and to counteract the isolation and loneliness of industrial society. There is need for Christians who will provide leadership for such movements and who will understand the aspirations of the masses for a new type of community. Indifference to the problems of industrial and peasant movements is one of the greatest weaknesses of the Churches in Asia today.

Technology has not only increased the size of cities and produced a new type of industrial worker, it is also influencing rural life. Men leave the village for the town and family life is disintegrated and new groupings replace the old powerful family. The old community of the village is being disrupted, for the village is no longer a self-contained unit.

New development schemes are the order of the day and this demands from the Church a reassessment of its traditional institutions which aimed at service. Old religions are awaking to a new responsibility for social service and welfare and the pattern for the future may be not so much specifically Christian institutions but individual Christians working devotedly in the secular institutions of national life. This will demand new lay institutes to train Christians in secular professions and help them see their work as a true vocation. It calls for a new approach to theological education, for the clergy and pastors must increasingly see their task as the formation of a Christian laity actively engaged in the world. It will demand a new theological appraisal for the basis of co-operation with the state and with non-Christians. Perhaps this calls for more mobile forms of service and the abandonment of some old unwieldy and very costly institutions.

There is need for pioneer work in villages and cities alike. One of the most interesting movements in India is that originally inspired by Mahatma Gandhi which now finds its dynamic leadership in the work of Vinoba Bhave and his colleagues. Beginning as an attempt to create a new outlook in regard to land holding but now a total philosophy of life, it is a good example of the new Hinduism. Its background remains the classic monism of India and it retains the basic dogma of the Hindu that all religions are equal. It calls for the welfare of all (*sarvodaya*) and sees society as a network of human relations. Its emphasis on change of heart needs to be brought into relation with the Christian "metanoia". Admittedly the insistence on religious "co-existence" and common inter-religious worship in the Basic education scheme reflect traditional Hindu concepts but the emphasis on "dan" (gift) deserves sympathetic Christian treatment. Not now only a call for gifts of land (*bhoodan*) but of *shram* (labour), *sampat* (wealth), *jnana* (intellect) and *jivan* (life) are being made by Bhave.

The former leader of the Socialist Party, Jai Prakash Narayan has become a *Jivandani*. Surely this call to "Dan yagna" (gift sacrifice) should be both an object lesson and a judgment on the witness of the Church, for it has real affinities with the Christian doctrine of stewardship and the whole sacrificial thought of St. Paul.

We must conclude by asking whether the Church is prepared for action. "Speaking the truth with love" one must say that Christians in India sometimes fall behind the followers of Bhave in loving service and freedom from the old communal divisiveness. Traditional caste attitudes combined with the fears and ghetto-like distortions of a minority group tend to cut Christians off from community nation-building activities as well as confirming non-Christians in their suspicions that Christians are an alien group who will not contribute towards the unity of the country. Caste restrictions damage the development of the individual. It restricts the choice of a vocation as of a mate and it harms that loyalty to wider groups so essential. On the other hand it is no good challenging caste if it is to be replaced by the selfish individualism which has done so much harm in the west.

Caste society in the past was typically "heteronomous" i.e. individuals were controlled from without by the customs of society. The opposite to this is the autonomy of radical individualism wherein the individual is a law unto himself.

But there is a third type of society in which the individual has full opportunities for expression but finds integration in ends which both serve society and transcend it. This is what Tillich calls theonomy. Secular individualism in India represents a drive to autonomy in reaction to the excessively heteronomous caste structure. Can the Church project successfully a theonomous view of life?

Caste society is not dying, as optimists like to believe, but it is changing and some of its most negative forms, e.g. untouchability, are now illegal! What is needed is an effective alternative to caste which can provide for the members of society a firm basis for their solidarity in community. In a sense this is "security" and caste did in the past provide it in some measure and this explains its capacity to survive, despite its contemporary irrelevance and even harmfulness. Caste provided a complete definition of social rôles or status but the new situation calls for social mobility. Men in India begin to look for new social opportunities but this must be accompanied by a new sense of mutual involvement and social welfare. The Christian "koinonia" provides by analogy what the new society most needs but strikingly lacks. Indeed it is far from being adequately expressed in the life of the Church. It is no good Christians preaching ideals or making utopian blue-prints but so to be involved in what is going on that they may perchance influence the tide of change. As caste society breaks down it leaves behind it something of a chaos. The danger is that men may by reaction turn to authoritarianism and a new heteronomy emerge, as perhaps it has done in communist China.

But at least it is worth emphasizing the hopeful fact that the word "community" has gained a new meaning. Community projects are being forcefully promoted by government. Others are forming "ashrams", fulltime communities for common service or action but the weakness of the Gandhian Ashram is that it still thinks in terms of the traditional village. Bhave and his friends have not been able to come to terms with the new industrialism nor the drift to the towns and there is in sarvodaya an element of "anarchism" which suspects all governmental action or legislation. As a protest against the "bigness" of

modern life this attitude may kindle a response in some westerners but it is dangerous in the Indian situation because it tends to be unrealistic. There is a special need for voluntary work and community life in the cities and one hopes that christians will respond to this call.

It is above all necessary for Christians to realize that the answer to caste is not individualism, the essentially western secular response, but koinonia. Christians have begun to see the limitation of koinonia in the divisive denominations inherited from the West and to work towards Union. They have not yet seen that koinonia cannot be interpreted in a purely ecclesiastical way and that it challenges not only our denominational thinking but also our attitude towards caste and class. It is in koinonia that the Church may make its contribution to India's understanding and reorganization of society.

The Church has a very delicate task in working out means of witness that both engage the Christian fully in identification with the nation, with secular society, and yet do not obscure the ecumenical character of the Church. The Church must serve the local community and transcend it. Creative thought is needed and it is being given. One may refer to the Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. It is true that the excellent books, pamphlets and bulletins produced by Dr. Devanandan, M. M. Thomas and their colleagues may only touch a literate minority of English-speaking persons but there is some signs of a real dialogue developing with non-Christians who share the same social concern. But these ideas have still to be conveyed to the great mass of simple christians and this task is both urgent and difficult.

A final point may be made. Against this background of challenge and opportunity, what place is there for the missionary? At first sight it would seem that there is none. In the nationalism and revolutionary upsurge of Asia the presence of the foreigner may be a positive embarrassment to the Church. There is an element of truth in this position but it is striking to find that Asian Christians want missionaries to come and work with them, if only to lay emphasis on the ecumenical character of the Church. Certainly the day in which the Christian enterprise was conducted by a Mission is gone, though not all missionary societies have faced this. Today is the day of the Church, not the Mission but only the Church in the fullest sense with both breadth and depth.

There is perhaps a special place for the missionary who has no desire to lead or to administer but gladly takes a humble place within the local congregation and there offers his peculiar gift. There is place for the theologian who will help both in theological colleges and bible schools as well as lay institutes. Our experience of modern industrial secular societies may be made available. Again there is a real possibility of Christian service through the medium of international agencies such as UNO or the Colombo plan whereby engineers, agronomists and all manner of technological experts may serve the new India but within that secular service express their Christian vocation and again take their part in the life of the local Church. The possibility of such means of service reveals that the word "missionary" needs revision and new interpretation. One is much attracted by the hope expressed by Bishop Newbigin that there might be an ecumenical order of men and women

of different denominations willing to go anywhere in the world to share their love and their skill with some part of the Church which might invite them.

Slowly there are signs that a new world culture is emerging. What does it mean to proclaim Jesus Christ in this setting? A world culture is neither the kingdom of God nor the reign of Satan. The problem of the Church in India today and its part in building a national community is only a segment of the problem of the Church in its relation to emerging world culture. There will be increasingly a debate about the contribution of religion to world peace and unity. Both Hindus and Buddhists have a new confidence that they have something vital to contribute in this debate. Are we glad about this? Called, as we are, out of every nation, we are called to make disciples of all nations. What we have been attempting to say must be understood against this basic understanding of our task.

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THE CHURCH IN UGANDA

THE RIGHT REVEREND J. K. RUSSELL

Assistant Bishop on the Upper Nile

IT is not easy for an Englishman to understand what is happening in the world of religion and politics in Uganda today. Perhaps an Ulsterman might have a better chance—brought up to the strains of “The Protestant boys have won the day” marching down the street in one direction, and “The wearing of the green” in the other. For it is quite certain that, as in Ulster so in Uganda, politics and religion, the Parties and the Church, cannot easily be separated.

A noted revivalist leader recently went on a mission here in Acoli (in the north of Uganda), with the blessing of the Church: but he came back and reported to the writer “They’re not interested. All they can think of is politics and self-government.” He was wrong. The people are not interested in the Christian religion—or any other religion—presented, so to speak, *in vacuo*: but they are deeply interested and concerned in Christianity as a part of the totality of their national existence. It is as a “Way of life” that Christianity has made its impact in this country—a way of education, a way of medicine, and most importantly, a way of government: for in the Anglican Church, and there alone, government by agreement and through the decisions of Committees, has been learnt. The Synod of the Diocese of Uganda received its Constitution in 1909: the first African members of Legislative Council to be elected took their seats in 1958.

Any African in Uganda will tell you that there are three “religions”: the Roman (which he may well call “French”), the Anglican (he may call it “English” or even more disastrously “See-em-essi”), and the Moslem. To him, each of these represents an entirely different “Way” of life. He is unlikely to be devoid of any idea that the Roman and the Anglican have, or ought to have, an affinity over against the Moslem. All three are equally separated, the one from the other. The early history of Buganda is largely concerned with the conflict between these three. There followed a period of 50 years during which *Pax Britannica* imposed a Way of Life. Today, Uganda stands on the threshold of a bitter renewing of the conflict. Way stands over against Way: and this means not only political party against political party—it means “religion” against “religion”, Church against Church, the Orange and the Green.

What is the state of the parties? There are some three Romans to every two Anglicans: five Christians to one Moslem: and two followers of “religion” to every pagan. (It is significant that the word used for pagan in all the languages of Uganda is an Arabic word, originally denoting a man who cannot read the Koran!). The figures as they stand,

however, need a good deal of interpreting. Almost without exception, all the leaders in Local and Central Government, and in the political parties, are Christians. This is because *all* education, with negligible exceptions, has been in the hands of the Churches from the start. Secondly, except for one District, far more of these *leaders* are Anglican than are Roman—perhaps to the extent of four to one. The Roman Church says that this is because the British Government has always favoured the “Protestants”. We Anglicans like to think that it is because our “Way” has encouraged local leadership, while the Roman “Way” has stifled it. Thirdly, it seems likely that the preponderance of Christian over Moslem is being rapidly reduced. A recent survey showed (though too much reliance should not be placed on the figures) that during the past five years Moslems have increased by 15%, Christians by 5%. Certainly during the past ten years the number of Moslem schools has more than doubled; and schools, in the opinion of most of the people of Uganda, are the key to the future.

How seriously ought the Moslem threat to be taken? In the writer's estimation, very seriously indeed; though it is hard to find a single Ugandan Christian who gives it more than a passing thought. But the two traditional routes of Moslem penetration into Central Africa—from the north and from the east—are at this moment wide open. From the east, there is the enormous philanthropic effort of the Ismailia community. It has poured thousands and thousands of pounds into Uganda since the war, for the building of schools and dispensaries and clinics and other welfare projects. Its members give their time and services to the cause of African Moslem education. In one District at least, the Supervisor of Moslem schools is a local business man who regards his work as definitely missionary. Indeed it is common now (as it was not ten years ago) to talk of the Moslem “Mission” over against the Roman and Anglican missions. Also from the east—in this case from Nairobi—comes the work of the Ahmaddiya sect. This sect of Islam is heretical but strongly missionary. It publishes a first-class weekly newspaper, maintains full-time Missionaries, is strongly anti-Christian in its attitude, and is always ready to engage in controversy.

The advance of Islam from the north has for the moment stopped sixty-five miles from where this article is being written—at the southern border of the Sudan. But for how long? The whole of the north of Uganda was originally annexed by Sir Samuel Baker for the Khedive. It lies astride the head-waters of the Nile, which is Egypt's life-blood. It seems obvious and inevitable that Egypt should wish to reclaim what was once, at least in theory, hers: nor can there be the slightest doubt that if Uganda becomes a Moslem country, only one “Way” will be allowed to flourish. The tragedy, and the danger, is that the Christians of Uganda have for so long been in the saddle that for the most part they are entirely unable to conceive that they might be thrown from it. To return to the Ulster metaphor, it is as though Communism had swallowed up the greater part of Europe, but Orange and Green were so busy fighting each other, that they were utterly unable to see the menace of Red looming over them both.

Christians may be slow to see the danger from Islam: but they are only

too ready to fly at each others' throats. Uganda is unique in that two branches only of the Christian Church are at work in it—the Roman and the Anglican. There is a very small Seventh Day Adventist Mission from the United States operating and there is an "African Orthodox Church" whose leader seems to be recognised by the Patriarch of Alexandria; at the moment it is so small as to be of very little significance, but the link with Alexandria might well become important in the political future. The countries which surround Uganda—Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo—have an indescribable multiplicity of sects. It is one of the curiosities of history—or perhaps rather a signal mercy of Almighty God—that Uganda has remained free of them. In passing, one might note that this very uniqueness lays a special care on Anglicans here to seek reconciliation with their Roman brethren.

The immediate effect, however, is anything but reconciling. It throws into sharp contrast and often antagonism the two "Ways". It has encouraged the alignment of the developing political parties with religious differences. As we shall see later, it has presented the priests of the Anglican Church with a dilemma which is beyond their powers to solve.

The political parties in Uganda face peculiar difficulties. In the first place, they have been viewed with the greatest suspicion by Government. Inevitably so, since in a country ruled by the Civil Service, a political party has no reason to exist except to oppose: and the success of a party has largely been gauged by the extent of its opposition and the violence of its condemnation of the existing order. Having no responsibility, it is not surprising that parties bid for popular support by the wildest of promises—universal "free" education, the immediate construction of tarmac roads to link all the towns in Uganda, the setting-up of heavy industry of all kinds. Second, the political parties have for the most part accepted the idea of a nation of Uganda: which means that they have cut across the actual racial boundaries inside Uganda, which are the ones which really matter. In particular, they have come into conflict with the Government of Buganda, which is increasingly unwilling to enter into any form of association with the other peoples in Uganda. Third, it is probably true to say that 75% of the best brains in Uganda are employed in the Civil Service, and are therefore debarred from taking part in politics. The political parties have had to make do with what is left, and a very large proportion of their leaders are in fact school-teachers (who are not technically Civil Servants). Since almost all the school-teachers are employed in Church schools—either Roman or Anglican—it is not hard to see why the political parties are divided religiously, Orange and Green.

At the time of writing, the report of the Constitutional Committee—the Wild Report—has just been published. It proposes a system of party government, modelled exactly on British lines. It recommends that

the party which gains a clear majority of elected members should be invited to form the basis of the Government side of the Legislative Council. The remainder should form the basis of the Opposition.

The leader of this party should become "Chief Minister", and there

should be a "Leader of the Opposition" with a special salary allowance. The report recognises that its proposals stand or fall by the existence of "well-organised political parties commanding the confidence of the majority of the electorate", and recommends various measures to help such parties come into being.

The Report has been enthusiastically received by the existing parties, though none of them measures up to the standard given, and none has a leader likely to be capable of welding the country into a unity as its Chief Minister. On the other hand, the Kabaka of Buganda was reported by the B.B.C. to have personally condemned it root and branch. His Government has issued a long statement attacking it, saying that its proposals are utterly unacceptable to Buganda, whose own Parliament (where the political parties are not represented) must remain sovereign in Buganda.

No one can tell whether, or how, this conflict will be resolved: but its existence adds greatly to the strain on the Churches, deeply involved, on the one hand, in the political parties: but, as far as the Anglican Church in Buganda is concerned, traditionally regarded as the "official" Church of the Kabaka and his Government.

What, then of the Church? In every corner of Uganda, Churches and Church Schools—Roman and Anglican—are to be found. In the Upper Nile Diocese of the Anglican Church there are 110 African Parochial clergy. This gives a ratio of one priest to every 3,000 Church members, and something like one priest to every 20,000 of the population. The figures in the Diocese of Uganda are roughly similar. At first sight, this may seem to be a high ratio. But it must be remembered that practically none of the people of Uganda live grouped in towns or villages. From the air, Uganda is seen to consist of innumerable small farms—each family living in the middle of its own land. Such groups of buildings as can be seen are nearly always Asian trading villages. The few towns there are owe their existence to such traders, and to the need to establish centres of Government. This means that the African priest, though the numbers of his people may not be very great, has enormous distances to cover: and it means that there is a very large number of Churches—probably too many. No priest has less than 30 churches in his care, but any proposal for lessening the number is as bitterly opposed as are schemes for the uniting of Benefices in England. In practice, then, the priest spends most of his time on a bicycle; and the day-to-day shepherding of the flock is left to the almost untaught catechist. But the people are poor and the Church is poor: a big increase in the number of clergy is beyond the financial resources available. Even now, our priests are paid a miserably inadequate salary—between £5 and £10 a month.

The organisation of the Roman Church is very different. Their parishes are even larger than ours, but the majority of them are still looked after by Missionaries from Europe and Canada. Indeed, there are perhaps ten Roman Missionaries to every one Anglican Missionary in Uganda at the moment. The Roman Parish Priest usually has the advantage of mechanical transport, and he has the money (though nobody knows where it comes from) to build a large number of his churches of permanent material; so avoiding the worry of the upkeep of buildings of

mud and grass which weighs so heavily on the Anglican priest and takes up such a lot of his time. The schools in the Roman parishes are directly under the Parish Priest—he is his own "School Supervisor": Anglican Church schools are grouped under a Supervisor who works from a Deanery or an Archdeaconry centre.

These are the men—white Roman and black Anglican—who are charged with the task of guiding their flocks through the vortex of political chaos and riotous nationalism.

The Roman Church has had little difficulty in seeing its way clear. Up to three years ago, it held strictly aloof from the emerging political parties. Its adherents were discouraged, and in some cases forbidden, to join them. Then, in good time for the first general elections to Legislative Council, as if somebody waved a magic wand (perhaps somebody did), the Democratic Party sprang, fully armed, to birth. It is open to all; but in fact its membership is 99% Roman. "When the British Government goes," said an Italian priest recently, "naturally it wants to leave behind it a Government favourably disposed to Britain. That means a Protestant Government. What were we to do? We know that God wants Uganda to have a strong Catholic Government which can stand against Communism; anything else would be contrary to His will. So we put our trust in the Democratic Party."

The Italian hierarchy, which dominates the Roman Church in the north of Uganda, inevitably sees the political situation in Italian terms. Indeed, one of its Bishops admitted as much to the writer recently. In Italy, the Democratic party is the party of the Church: all the rest are, to the Church, Communists. So here. The Uganda National Congress (which is the other main party) is regarded as in essence, if not in outward appearance, Communist: and it is therefore the *Church's* duty to oppose it. The same is true in other parts of Uganda, where the majority of the Roman priests are from Holland, or French Canada. A further complication is introduced by the fact that, as has been stated above, a very large number of parish priests in the Roman Church are Europeans (which in common Uganda parlance includes Americans!). These parish priests, doing their duty as they see it, and influencing their flock at election time towards the Roman candidate, have laid themselves open to the charge that they, being Europeans, have meddled in strictly African affairs: and in fact such charges have been made, with great bitterness.

But if the Italians are Italian, the British are indelibly British, perhaps even English. Of the Anglican Bishops, the two Diocesans are English, as are two of the six Assistant Bishops. The formation of the Province of the Church of Uganda, which may take place in 1961, will ensure that there are two or three African Diocesans: but the English infection will probably remain dominant! To us, the idea of the identification of a political party with a Church is abhorrent, and most of us would rather turn our collars round than tell our people to vote for this or that candidate in an election. But what of our African brother-priests? Each one of them is accustomed to a situation in which he cannot ignore the presence and growth of the Roman Church in his parish. It builds schools and dispensaries, and his people are continually pressing him to do the

same. And now it has its political party. Ought he not to have his? The writer recently held a conversation with the Headmaster of a Church Secondary School. "It seems to us," he said, "that the Democratic party has succeeded (in Local Government elections) because it has the help and advice of the Fathers: on our side we don't seem to get any help." And he went on to emphasise that in his view, if the country came under a Roman Government, his "Way of life"—and that was the actual phrase he used—would be destroyed.

That is the dilemma which faces our priests. What is their priestly duty in such a situation? To many of them, the answer was clear. The only alternative to the Democratic party, controlled, they believed, by the Roman Church, was the Uganda National Congress: some of them joined it; many of them supported it in public. The appointment of a Bishop in the north was taken to be a signal that at long last the Anglican Church was about to fight back on the political front. Deputation after deputation of the writer's people has come to him, urging him to start a Holy War against Rome.

Generally speaking, the Bishops of the Anglican Church have set themselves to reverse this trend. They have taught their priests that the Romans are wrong in their attitude to politics, and that we should not be trapped into copying them. They have emphasised the eternal responsibility of a priest for *every* soul in his parish—from District Commissioner, through political agitator, to illiterate peasant: and that for a priest to take an active part in party political life is likely to interfere with his approach to his people. At the same time, it is the priest's duty to insist that party political life comes under the concern and the judgement of God, and that therefore no political party ought to act in an un-Christian way—by the use of slander, incitement to hatred, the spreading of rumours—in furthering its policies. With astonishing loyalty, most Anglican priests have accepted this position—though not without several lingering glances over their shoulders at the idea of an Anglican party: and with, it is to be feared, deep misgivings about the future. This is their county, and they are stuck with it; so many of their Bishops have funk-holes elsewhere!

In these days everyone recognises the tremendous, compulsive force of nationalism; as strong in tropical Africa as anywhere in the world. Up to the present time, the Christian religion, coming to Africa by way of Europe, has been suspicious of this nationalism. It has seen itself as the universal religion, proclaiming a sort of spiritual multi-racialism. English missionaries in particular have tended to forget the tremendous importance in their own history of the idea of the national Church, the Church co-extensive with the nation. But this is an idea which most strongly attracts the people of tropical Africa. They delight in civic services—the hallowing of new chiefs (which to their minds ought to include the laying on of hands by the Bishop), the dedication of Government buildings; and casting the net still wider, the blessing of a new shop or a petrol station. Even a political prisoner, on his release from prison, can be expected to ask for a service in his local church to mark his return to ordinary life. In the writer's judgement, it is likely that the people of tropical Africa would even accept a Church tax on the German pattern;

because they are quite unable to make the western separation between religious and secular, Church and State.

Here, surely, is something of enormous importance on which to build. Dr. Vidler, in his book "The Theology of F. D. Maurice", quotes this from Maurice:

We hold the State and the Church do live to promote the same end; that both alike are religious societies instituted and ordained by God, that both alike are to accomplish His will towards His creature man, that both alike are to preserve that creature from the mischiefs to which an evil nature exposes him.¹

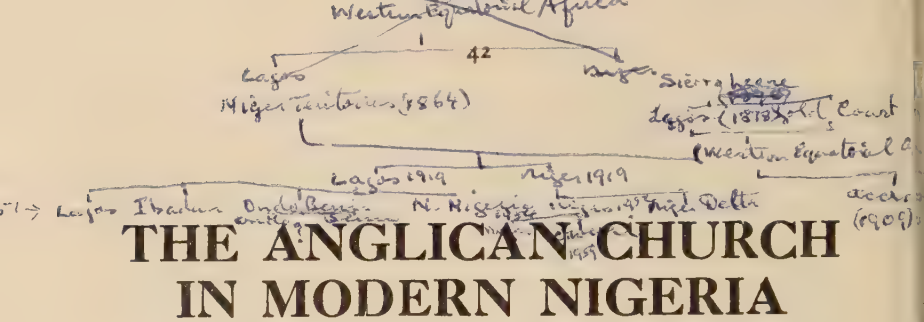
Nothing could more accurately express the ideas of the ordinary Christian in Uganda today; and it may well be that the Church should buy up the opportunity thus offered. Two major difficulties confront those who wish to do so.

First, there is no nation of Uganda. Perhaps once every year, when Uganda plays football against Kenya in the Gossage cup, the idea of "Uganda" has some meaning. For the rest of the year it has none. It represents a line drawn on the map by European powers and nothing more—nothing more, that is, with an emotional content. The emotional content belongs to the tribe, and without doubt every tribe in Uganda thinks of itself as a nation. Yet there are tribes in the Upper Nile Diocese with as few as 50,000 people in them. The largest has under half a million, and the total number of tribes is twenty—all in an area one third as big again as Ireland, or almost exactly the size of the State of Ohio. How large, or how small, can a National Church be?

Second, the Roman Church is entirely opposed to the idea of a National Church. It has gone out of its way to make its opposition known when the phrase has been mentioned, in passing, by politicians. And yet, as was stated earlier, a majority of the Christian people of Uganda belong to it. A national church made up of Anglicans only—if the various nations of Uganda could win through to a Ugandan nation-hood—would only serve further to divide the nation. There must, therefore, be a meeting of the Roman and the Anglican mind on this issue. It can be done more easily in Uganda than anywhere else, because the Anglicans are not distracted by sects and their relation with them. There are one or two small signs that such a meeting may yet be possible. In one area of Uganda, this last Christmas day, a Pastoral Letter in identical terms was read in all churches, Roman and Anglican, from the two Bishops concerned. It said, among other things, this: "I therefore call upon my people to join in fellowship with their Roman Catholic (Anglican) brothers, to put aside all hatred and bitterness, and to remember that the things on which we and they agree are far greater than the things which divide us."

Here, perhaps, are the seeds of hope.

(1) The writer owes this quotation, and much more, to four lectures given at Edinburgh Theological College by Dr. M. A. C. Warren and published privately by C.M.S. under the title "The place of Nations in the Universal Church".



THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN MODERN NIGERIA

THE RIGHT REVEREND A. W. HOWELLS
Bishop of Lagos

IN 1796 Mungo Park discovered the river Niger, from which Nigeria takes her name. Eight years before this, there had been founded at Freetown, in Sierra Leone, a settlement for freed slaves from the countries of West Africa. This settlement, and the missionary and educational work done there, was to have a profound effect upon the growth of the Anglican Church in West Africa, and in Nigeria in particular. One of the first six students at Fourah Bay College, founded in Freetown in 1827 was Samuel Ajayi Crowther, himself taken as a slave from his village near Abeokuta in Nigeria when a boy of twelve. He became a Christian and determined to carry the Gospel back to his own country. He was a member of the Niger Expeditions of 1841, 1854 and 1857 and on the third occasion was successful in founding the Niger Mission of the C.M.S., from which has grown the work of the Anglican Church in Eastern Nigeria. In the West, Henry Townsend, of the Church Missionary Society had joined Thomas Birch Freeman, of the Methodist Missionary Society in Badagry by the end of 1842, by the next year he was in Abeokuta, where four years later he and the Rev. Samuel Crowther conducted the first service of Holy Communion. From these beginnings grew the Church in Western Nigeria. The North of the country was not entered by the Anglican Church until much later, the first C.M.S. Missionaries reaching Lokoja in 1890 and journeying into Hausa land in 1894.

Samuel Crowther was consecrated Bishop of the Niger territories in 1864, fourteen years later Lagos and the Gold Coast were transferred from the Diocese of Sierra Leone and formed into the Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa. The Diocese of Accra was formed out of this Diocese in 1909, and ten years later the Diocese of the Niger Territories and Western Equatorial Africa was divided into the Diocese of Lagos and the Diocese on the Niger. Soon after the formation of the Province of West Africa in 1951 the Diocese of Lagos was divided into the Dioceses of Lagos, Ibadan, Ondo-Benin, and, in 1954, the Diocese of Northern Nigeria. At the same time the Diocese of the Niger Delta was formed from part of the Diocese on the Niger. In 1959 another Diocese, Owerri, was formed out of the Diocese on the Niger, and soon the Diocese of Ondo-Benin is to become two separate Dioceses, Ondo and Benin.

As a result of this growth the Church in Nigeria is now formed into seven Dioceses, which are self-governing and self-supporting, and form part of the autonomous Province of West Africa. Seven out of ten of

the Bishops are Nigerians, and, with one or two exceptions all the 380 or so clergy in pastoral work are Nigerians. Of the 120 missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in Nigeria about 20 are ordained and are working on the staffs of Theological Colleges, Teacher Training Institutions or Grammar Schools, two are engaged in chaplaincy work in centres with a concentration of European population, and one has been seconded to work as Literature Secretary for the Christian Council of Nigeria. There are also one or two other European Clergy on the staffs of Grammar Schools or Teacher Training Colleges who are not members of a Missionary Society. In the North two ordained missionaries are engaged in pastoral and evangelistic work in the villages.

In its worship the Church in Nigeria follows the Anglican pattern set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. The need for some sort of revision, so that the Church's worship may be more truly expressive of African spiritual life, while at the same time conserving the heritage of the worship of the Christian Church through the ages is, of course in mind, though it is too early yet for any large scale revision. Experiments are made in the use of local music and rhythm in church worship, and there is much work to be done in this field. Regular early morning services for prayer are a feature of many churches and thanksgiving services for God's particular mercies, on anniversaries, return from journeys, etc., are an indication of an attitude to life which though in danger is still more fundamentally religious than that of the Western world.

In the Eastern and Western regions of Nigeria little progress could be recorded in the first fifty years or so of the life of the Church. Then followed what amounted to a mass movement when the movement into the Church rather overwhelmed Church and Mission leaders. This movement has now largely lost its momentum, and with the spread of other faiths there has developed a new situation in which the Church has both to pursue its evangelistic course, and also to consolidate its position and deepen its life by more adequate instruction in the faith. In the North progress has been slower because the northern half of the region is predominantly Muslim and because in the southern half, which is mainly pagan, missionaries were comparatively late in entering. Thus the recent years have been ones of consolidation and organisation, which have nevertheless witnessed a quiet, but solid expansion. Two of the Dioceses in Western Nigeria have designated areas in their dioceses as missionary areas, to be regarded, not as self supporting, but as a charge on the finance and manpower of the rest of the diocese. These ventures, in the Waterside area on the sea-coast east of Lagos, and in the Kabba and Bassa areas, are bearing fruit. Special attention is being given to the opportunities for evangelism in the North, a Diocesan Evangelistic Council has been formed, and missionaries have been set free for new pastoral and evangelistic work in villages in the south of the Diocese, in the "middle belt", inhabited mainly by pagan people, who, it is considered by some authorities, will probably decide between Christianity and Islam within the next 10 or 20 years. Of specialised evangelism, there may be mentioned the Nigeria Campaign held by Billy Graham in January and February of this year, in which the Anglican Church took a full part at all

levels, including the initial invitation. The Campaign is in progress at the time of writing, so it is impossible to assess results.

Perhaps an even greater need than, and a pre-requisite of, direct evangelism, is the adequate instruction of church members in the Christian faith. This is part of the process of consolidation, and must take first priority. In part it is a pastoral problem, and this in turn, is a problem of manpower. Three hundred and eighty clergy in an area three and a half times that of the United Kingdom, and with a population almost as great, is not very adequate, even allowing for the fact that the Anglican Church is not the only church at work. The shortage of clergy, particularly those with high educational qualifications, means that many are bearing an almost impossible burden of extra-parochial duties and of administration, while others are not able to stay sufficiently long in any one place to make any real pastoral impact. This problem will yield only to an increase in the number of clergy, a more imaginative use of the laity (and that involves training), and a greater degree of co-operation between the different Churches. There is evidence of advance in these three directions.

At one time all theological training was done at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, and the Church is still benefiting, through its leaders, from that period. For some years now, all theological training has been carried out in Nigeria, an obvious, and correct development. At present there are some 100 men in training for the Anglican Ministry, about 60 at Immanuel College, Ibadan, for the Dioceses in the West and the North, and 40 at Trinity College, Umuahia, for the Dioceses in Eastern Nigeria. Immanuel College is a Union College, with the Methodists, and Trinity College, Umuahia is a fellowship between Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians. Obviously, united theological colleges have their problems, but there is evidence of the leading and blessing of the Holy Spirit on these two Colleges, and they may indeed be playing an important part towards the United Church which we pray will in God's time come to Nigeria. Training is for two or three years, and some men take a course leading to the London Diploma in Theology. The majority of men offering for Ordination have not passed their School Certificate, so the problem of educational qualifications is a real one. It means a very real sacrifice (much greater than in England) for a man who, with good qualifications, particularly a degree, could command a very high salary and position in any other walk of life, to offer for the ordained ministry of Christ's Church. The University College of Ibadan offers an Honours Degree Course in Theology, and it is hoped to take advantage of this course for men who have already been ordained. It is a sad fact that there is at the time of writing no Anglican on the staff of the department of religious studies at the University. *When the last Anglican member left and the vacancy was advertised in the U.K. and other places not one suitably qualified Anglican applied.* Immanuel College, Ibadan, hopes to rebuild in the not too far distant future, on a site near to the University, and a close liaison will be maintained. The Church in Nigeria is grateful for the many opportunities afforded to its clergy for periods of study and the gaining of further experience overseas, in England and the United States. Quite a number of clergy have taken advantage of such opportunities,

and the Church has benefited thereby. This is not, of course, a substitute for adequate theological training in Nigeria!

Catechists are still employed by the Church in many districts, and each Diocese in the West undertakes its own Catechist training, while in the East the training is done at a central College, St. Paul's, Awka. Many of our present clergy started their ministry as Catechists, thus gaining valuable experience before commencing their theological training.

It is evident that the training of lay men and women must play an increasingly important role in the life of the Church in Nigeria. For some years there has been a Christian Training Centre for Women at Akure, run by the Church Missionary Society. This is now entering upon a new phase and is to become the training centre for the Catechists of one of the Dioceses, and also of the wives of ordinands at Immanuel College and of Catechists in training. It is also hoped that some extra-mural work in the field of lay-training will be undertaken from this centre which will work in close liaison with Immanuel College. In the East a training centre for women has been working for some ten years at Awka. Training is also given, where possible, for Lay Readers, as in Lagos, where an advanced course, consisting of 36 lectures, is being held for those who have passed their Senior School Certificate, though there is nothing co-ordinated yet in this sphere. A great increase in lay-training of various kinds must occupy the attention of the Church in the near future if the present numerical position of the Church is to be maintained.

One opportunity of lay-training, which was much used in the early days of the church, is in the church schools. The Anglican Dioceses in Nigeria, are, between them, responsible for some 3,000 Primary Schools, and about 100 Secondary Schools, throughout the country. There is obviously a great chance here to show what Christian education means, and what difference Christianity makes in everyday life. The schools are now maintained and run very largely on government grants, and it may be that future developments will mean that the Churches have less control—we do not know. But whatever the future position of the administration of the schools the influence of Christian Teachers can be of vital importance. Here the Church is well placed in being responsible for some 40 Teacher Training Colleges. With the exception of one or two in which C.M.S. has a share of responsibility, these Colleges are the concern of the Dioceses. The contribution of the Missions and Churches to education in Nigeria has been very great, and it is our challenge to see that a vital Christian influence in education continues. The oldest Grammar School in Nigeria is the old C.M.S. Grammar School, in Lagos, now the Lagos Anglican Grammar School, founded in 1859. Only ten years after, there was founded, in 1869, the Lagos Anglican Girls' School, as it is now known, and the Church realises and is trying to provide for the great need for the education of women. Nigerian women have played a vital part all of their own in the development of the life of the Church and country.

The interest of the Anglican Church in education is not, however, confined to the ordinary system of schools, and provision is made for other types of education. At Abeokuta, the Blaize Industrial Institute, in which Methodists and Anglicans share responsibility, was founded some

50 years ago to train local boys in carpentry, building and other trades, and to show the relevance of Christianity in everyday life. Fifty apprentices are in training at the Institute. An industrial school has recently been opened in Lagos, with Anglican participation, rather on the lines of a Christian Technical School, while the Churches of the East have for many years joined in staffing a Rural Training Centre, at which the Christian stewardship of the soil has been emphasised. This centre is now entering upon a new phase and is undertaking Teacher Training in Rural Science subjects.

Responsibility for Christian witness in the University College and Nigeria College of Arts, Science and Technology is shared by the different Churches, and the Student Christian Movement plays an important part. There will be an increasing field of service in the future among university students, though it is likely, that as in so many other fields, this will provide another sphere of co-operation for the different Churches.

In medical work the Dioceses and the C.M.S. are responsible for three hospitals, one in each of the three regions of Nigeria. It is becoming increasingly difficult to staff these hospitals with missionaries, who are just not available, and it is perhaps a little early to expect more than one or two Nigerians to accept considerably lower rates of pay in order to work in a Mission Hospital. Medical work however continues to be an important avenue of Christian service and prayer and thought are being given to the ways in which this can best be utilised in the rapidly changing conditions of today. We must remember that the Church is at work wherever Christian doctors and nurses are at work, even though the Mission Hospital does have its own peculiar role to play, and the importance of Christian witness in Training Hospitals cannot be overemphasised.

The Church still has its share in Leprosy work at Oji River in the East and at the Zaria Leprosy Settlement in the North, though these institutions are no longer under its control.

In the field of literature, The C.M.S. (Nigeria) Bookshops, now serving the Church of the Province of West Africa, have played a most important part in the development of the Anglican Church and its schools. The need for suitable Christian literature is even more pressing now that there is universal education.

There are many other ways in which the Church is able to play its part in the life of the country, in common with other Churches and with social organisations. There is a most important ministry in broadcasting, and the Anglican Church is allotted its share of religious broadcasting, while Lagos Cathedral, in particular, is quite often the scene of a broadcast service on state and festival occasions. In Lagos the Chaplaincy work at the Prisons is supervised by an Anglican priest, and carried out in co-operation with other Churches and denominations. This in itself is a vital ministry, especially among those condemned to death. On various Social Service Committees and Organisations, such as family welfare, marriage guidance, the welfare of beggars, and so on, the presence and help of clergy is always welcomed. In Lagos there is an Anglican Chaplain working amongst the sailors with the Missions to Seamen. So far there is no industrial chaplaincy work, but an Industrial Chaplain from

the U.K. has recently made a survey of the developing urban areas and industries of Nigeria, and has made recommendations to the Bishops. It is hoped that some action may be taken in the fairly near future to avoid the alienation of such industries as Nigeria is likely to develop from the Church, and to see that the Church plays its part in the increasing urbanisation of the larger towns.

It will be seen from this rapid survey that there are many spheres in which the different Churches are working together and there is a definite feeling that the Holy Spirit is calling to an even closer working together in the future. Through the Christian Council of Nigeria such co-operation is made much easier. In matters needing negotiations with the authorities, particularly in education, it is essential that the authorities should have some body to deal with representing Protestant Christian opinion and interests. The Christian Council, on which the Anglican Church is fully represented, fulfils this function. But it has many other functions including that of acting as liaison between the Nigerian Churches and the many Inter-Church organisations in the world, through which a substantial amount of assistance in one form or another comes to the Churches in Nigeria. Recently the Christian Council has appointed a full time Literature Secretary, an Anglican clergyman who has been released for this essential work by the C.M.S. and by the Diocese in Western Nigeria in which he was working.

In addition to the two theological colleges, and the Rural Training Centre already mentioned, Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches together are responsible for the Queen Elizabeth Joint Mission Training Hospital at Umuahia, in Eastern Nigeria, and a number of educational institutions are shared by more than one Church.

We believe that Union Institutions are one of the means through which God is preparing us for a United Church in Nigeria, towards which we have been working and praying for many years. In 1933 the Eastern Regional Committee of the Christian Council of Nigeria set up a Union Committee, which in time produced a scheme of Union embracing the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Eastern Nigeria. In the West the Anglicans are so strong numerically compared with the Methodists (there are no Presbyterians) that the former could not see the need for Union, and the latter were afraid of it. It was some years later before the West became interested and the Church Union Committee was extended to embrace representatives from Churches in the West as well as the East. A visit by Bishop Sumitra, Moderator of the Church of South India at the end of 1955 did much to arouse interest, and since then meetings of the Nigeria Church Union Committee have been held annually, the Presbyterian Church of the Cameroons has joined the negotiations, observers have attended the meetings from other parts of West Africa, and in 1957 the Archbishop of West Africa addressed the Committee. The original scheme was based on that of South India, which was the only one available at the time. The 1958 Lambeth Conference advised that fresh consideration be given to the Ceylon scheme. This is now being done, though there are many members of the Committee who are not convinced that the Ceylon method of initial unification of the Ministries is better than that of South India. However, these

are problems, among many others, to be discussed and thought and prayed about as we go forward with the task of re-drafting the original scheme. Meanwhile it remains rather difficult to convince say, a Muslim, that the Church has unity in Christ when he sees Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Roman Catholic, African Church, Apostolic Faith, Christ Apostolic, U.N.A. Mission and Cherubim and Seraphim Churches all in the same (sometimes quite small) town! And, as Bishop Sumitra pointed out, we cannot rest content with a Union only of the Churches which came from the West and leaves out the churches and Christian organisations which, for one reason or another have split away from those churches or sprung up apart from them.

One of the challenges facing the Church in the future is that of its divisions which have arisen, not only in time past, but of recent years, and in Nigeria. In some cases the divisions were over matters of discipline, in others they perhaps reflect dissatisfaction with expressions of prayer and worship that seem a little too staid and sober for Africa. In any event, we must learn from these divisions, and see what God is seeking to say to us through their existence.

Another challenge facing the Church, and one not wholly unconnected with the last one is that of Christian Marriage. We cannot remain satisfied when it is typical that in a large church with a membership of well over a thousand, there are only four weddings during a year. The Province of West Africa is trying to work out an approach to the problem of Christian Marriage in a society which has been and mostly still is polygamous. The approach must be a positive one, and one which does not appear to be merely "western". It must be shown that "One Man—One Wife", is God's will for Africans as well as for Europeans. And the problems of the present transitional age must be given due consideration.

Islam, of course, appears to be more accommodating on this issue, and claims, with more apparent outward justification, to be truly "African". The North of Northern Nigeria has been strongly Muslim for many years. What is not always realised is the extent of Muslim penetration in Western Nigeria. When Christian Missionaries first entered Ibadan there were two mosques; today there are seventy, and Ibadan is a 70% Muslim town. In Lagos, the Ahmaddiya Movement in Islam is very vocal in its missionary propaganda and publishes a weekly newspaper "Truth". It is, however, true that personal relations between Christians and Muslims are good, and in Western Nigeria it is usually possible for a Muslim to become a Christian without any persecution or social disadvantage. There is a real opportunity for contact between Christians and Muslims, as witnessed by the quarterly meeting held in Lagos between Christian and Muslim leaders to discuss different aspects of their respective faiths. In this ease of contact, as it exists at present, is perhaps to be found a great opportunity to redeem much of the misrepresentation of Christ to the Muslim world for which the Church, albeit unwittingly, has through the years been responsible. At the same time there will need to be amongst Christians a certain amount of re-thinking regarding the future in a country which is likely to have a majority of Muslims in its government. The fundamental human rights, including that of chang-

ing one's religion, have been written into Nigeria's Constitution and Christians, Muslims and Pagans alike will need to see that they are observed. Above all, we need a positive attitude to all such problems as are likely to arise. A negative attitude only engenders suspicion and militates against faithful witness to Christ. Perhaps one may be forgiven for reverting momentarily to a topic already discussed, namely the paramount need for the instruction of Christians as to what their faith really means and implies. All too many, both Christians and Muslims, see little difference between their faiths.

As to the position of the Church in an independent Nigeria it is difficult to say. Who can foresee the future? It is certain however, that the Anglican Church will not be in the same position as it has been, as almost the "State" Church, patronised by Government Officials and authorities. Future officials may wish to go to the mosque! This will eventually be for the good as it may help to lessen the impression, still present at any rate in the sub-conscious in many quarters, that Christianity is the "White Man's Religion". Nigeria has to work out its problems in an almost unique situation where there are virtually three recognised religions of comparable strength, Christianity, Islam, and the old cults and faiths. This is symptomatic of that great meeting of Christianity with the non-Christian Faiths which is taking place throughout the world.

To the Church in Nigeria belongs the priceless privilege of bearing witness to Jesus Christ in a situation such as this, and we pray that the Anglican Church in Nigeria in company with the other Churches may have something vital to offer, some truly African contribution to the world-wide and historic Church of Jesus Christ.

Brethren Pray for us.

EDINBURGH 1910

CANON J. McLEOD CAMPBELL

Master of Charterhouse

DR. IREMONGER in his biography of William Temple prints an elaborate genealogy of Edinburgh 1910 and its descendants, to demonstrate the Archbishop's identification with all or most of its ramifications. He admits the danger of becoming lost in a tangle of parallel and (it almost seems) competing organisations, and the difficulty of finding a way through a jungle of trees, suckers, shrubs and creepers. Edinburgh 1910 is rightly credited with having been the Founder of the Ecumenical dynasty which establishes a claim to the observance of its Jubilee.

That is not to assume that Edinburgh can expect to kindle enthusiastic interest fifty years on, or that its survivors, who are few and elderly, can be expected to transmit the emotions of the original experience. But it is just because so much that was written, for example in Temple Gairdner's almost lyrical account of the Conference, is inevitably dated and relates to a world strangely unfamiliar to the present generation, that it may be profitable to trace the origin of subsequent developments.

It will, for example, be somewhat startling to Anglicans to realise the hesitations with which Archbishop Randall Davidson viewed the pressure brought on him by Dr. Oldham and Dr. Tatlow to attend. "My going thither might compromise some people who are quite willing to keep silence though they disapprove of the joint action, but would not keep silent if they thought that by the Archbishop's presence the whole Church was committed." This quotation from George Bell's "Life" may be taken as reflecting current timidities. Inter-denominational movement (except to those reared in the Student Christian Movement) was a new-fangled bogey. The S.P.G. at first declined to have anything to do with it. But the Archbishop went, supported by his brother of York and by such stalwarts as Talbot, Gore and Frere. In his opening address the Archbishop declared himself convinced that "the work of the coming fortnight is capable, I verily believe, of indirectly doing more for the right manner of 'telling out among the heathen that the Lord is King' than any fortnight of Christian history since the days of the Apostles." He concluded with the words "Be sure that the place of Missions in the life of the Church must be the central place and none other. . . . Secure for that thought its true place in our plans, our policy, our prayers, why then—why then—the issue is His not ours. It may well be that if that comes true 'there be some standing here tonight who shall not taste of death till they see—here on earth, in a way we know not of—the Kingdom of God come with power'."

William Temple, the architect of so much that has been built upon Edinburgh foundations, was as yet only enlisted with other junior dons (Walter Moberley, Neville Talbot, Kenneth Kirk and myself, together with John Bailey, Kingsley Williams and others) to perform the humble functions of stewards. He would be the last to wish to overshadow the strong Anglican leadership at Edinburgh, which made possible all that the Church of England was to gain from and to give to the Ecumenical Movement. The timidities of infancy were by no means confined to Anglicans. They are exhibited in the terms of reference of the Conference, the purpose of which was defined as "research and conference regarding missionary work and problems". Resolutions were to be taboo. It had been formally decided that no motion shall be presented "which involves questions of doctrine or Church policy with regard to which the Churches and Societies taking part differ among themselves". Similar inhibitions applied to political questions. In both respects these restrictions relaxed as later developments of Edinburgh emerged in the "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work" movements.

The former owed its inspiration to the American Bishop in the Philippines. Bishop Brent left Edinburgh determined to initiate another world conference to deal with the precise issues of Faith and Order that had been excluded from the Agenda in 1910. After prolonged negotiations and in spite of the first world war, his object was achieved at Lausanne in 1927, and the new movement maintained its distinct though not separate identity when the World Council of Churches was founded 21 years later. Bishop Brent testified that "we missionaries have moments of deep depression when the consciousness sweeps over us that it is little short of absurd to try to bring into one Christian Church the great nations of the Far East unless we can present an undivided front". From the first the Movement had patiently to disentangle a web of misunderstandings and mutual ignorances, striving to reconcile those who thought that Lausanne should achieve a blue-print of a united Church and those who agreed with Bishop Brent that it was an occasion on which "both agreements and disagreements were to be carefully noted", content to initiate an intensive process (through its Continuation Committee) of drawing leaders of different Churches into fellowship, learning to understand one another's tenets and not fighting shy of major issues. This is not the place to enlarge on later conferences of the Movement and its influence on the world Church.

The second Movement, "Life and Work", owed its inspiration to Archbishop Söderblom of Upsala. Memories of a Sunday supper at Lambeth at which two Archbishops, Upsala and Canterbury, were revelling in one another's reminiscences, recall the impression of two very remarkable men. Archbishop Lang had himself at Edinburgh 1910 related the thought of the Conference to broad questions of the relation of the Church to Society, of Christian nations and governments to the peoples of the non-Christian world, in his treatment of Opium and Liquor traffic and the Belgian Congo outspokenly risking trespass on the forbidden ground of politics. It was this aspect of Edinburgh that Archbishop Söderblom had brooded over till with infinite patience he brought about and carried through the 1925 Conference on "Life and

Work " at Stockholm. This was the first conference at which delegates represented the Churches which accredited them—six hundred of them from thirty-seven countries. They affirmed the Church's obligation to apply the Gospel " in all realms of human life, industrial, social, political, and international ".

The two Conferences, Lausanne and Stockholm, and their successors, endeavoured to perpetuate their fellowship and pursue their mutual education through Continuation Committees; but their respective spheres appeared increasingly to overlap, as Life and Work found itself compelled to face doctrinal issues, and Faith and Order to face the sociological realities which constituted obstacles to unity. Only after protracted negotiations, interrupted by war, did they find integration in the World Council of Churches, the inauguration of which at Amsterdam in 1948 was the climax of a process that had begun at Edinburgh in 1910.

Enough has been said about the progeny of Edinburgh to indicate its importance as an ancestor and to establish its claim to the dignity of a Jubilee. It is time to return to the top of the genealogical tree, and to ask what happened at Edinburgh fifty years ago.

The limitations which applied to its terms of reference applied also to its membership. Those familiar with later International Missionary Council Conferences and Committees—Jerusalem 1928, Tambaram 1938, Willingen 1952—will be astonished at Edinburgh's paucity of representation of the overseas Churches. Technically they were not represented at all, for the overseas leaders who came, making an impression out of all proportion to their numbers, came as representatives of British or American Missionary Societies. At Tambaram they constituted rather more than half the body of official delegates, the Chinese delegation proving by common consent the most impressive of them all. At Edinburgh all were nominated and accredited by Missionary Societies and their Boards—from Great Britain 426 (Anglicans 143 including S.P.G. 38, C.M.S. 89, C.E.Z.M.S. 14), from America 489 (Anglicans 24), Belgium 1, Denmark 4, Finland 4, France 10, Germany 99, Holland 15, Norway 12, Sweden 15, Switzerland 7, South Africa 8, Australia 23. In addition there were just over 100 V.I.P. nominees—Britain 78, America 18, Continental 6.

This method of composition is evidence of contemporary missionary thinking in terms not of national Churches but of Western Missionary Societies. It reflects too the facts of that day in contrast with 1960. All the Bishops, for example, in India, China and Japan were Europeans, and their supremacy was as yet hardly challenged.

None the less, Edinburgh was a great experience. It would mean nothing to the present generation to recall the names of those who from their distinction in Church or State lent glamour to the scene. In spite of its limitations, Edinburgh was unprecedentedly international. At Amsterdam 1948 and later conferences, delegates took their seats " earphoned and breastplated with a device that magnified the tones of the inaudible and translated unknown tongues ". Such devices did not, of course, exist in 1910, and there must have been many who found difficulty in following the debates which were in English. Nor had aeroplanes or wireless become available. To assemble people from the ends

of the earth involved long voyages, and international gatherings had a certain novelty. When they did meet, delegates met as strangers, for they had not been kept in touch with one another through the B.B.C. News came through sparsely and slowly, and the printed word was sometimes a distorting medium of communication. All the more reason why such an Assembly as met at Edinburgh was a significant and exciting means of mutual education.

"Exciting" is not too strong a word for the experience. Wherever they came from, delegates became aware of one another, entering into new friendships. Under the inspiration partly of numbers, partly through the discovery of such a host of new allies in the cause of the Kingdom they saw visions and their hopes were enlarged.

Doubtless, as for New Testament Christians of old, the future was fore-shortened. Many, especially the younger, did not foresee how long and weary a road had to be travelled. As Archbishop Söderblom said when summing up the Stockholm Conference, "Much human weakness, some mixed and ambiguous motives, dissensions, and human, all too human pettiness, vanity and egotism, had been evident in our preparation and progress". Such weaknesses, however much they may have clogged advance in the intervening years, not least the corporate vanity and egotism of Churches and Societies, were not to be discerned in the spiritual temperature of Edinburgh, where frank outspokenness was not only tolerated but welcomed.

Least of all did anybody at Edinburgh expect to have to live through two world wars which were to cut in twain the international world there represented. In assessing the result of Edinburgh, the appalling frustrations of those years must never be forgotten. At the same time, there was great ground for thanksgiving that the Conference took place long enough before 1914 to allow some cultivation of the seeds there sown, ensuring their ultimate germination and fruition in spite of world wars and revolutions.

If Edinburgh had been no more than a fortnight of fellowship and fiery eloquence, it would long ago have been consigned to the limbo of forgotten demonstrations, only remembered by a few survivors. But that would be an injustice both to the BEFORE and to the AFTER of Edinburgh.

In the BEFORE must be included two years of ubiquitous prayer, culminating in Great Britain in a summons from Archbishops and Moderators to the observance of a Sunday in May, 1910, as a day of special intercession. Worship (in St. Giles' and elsewhere) and prayer provide especially vivid memories of Edinburgh. It was always an impressive moment when, whatever the business in hand, all was hushed for a half-hour of prayer in the middle of the morning sessions.

It must not be forgotten that every delegate had, before he began his journey to Scotland, been furnished with the copious fruits of the studies of eight international Commissions. These had laboured against heavy odds for at least eighteen months with an avalanche of evidence collected from all over the world: they were indeed in danger of being snowed-under and of snowing-under the delegates, who were expected to do laborious home-study before arriving.

These eight subjects provided the pattern of the Agenda. Each Report was presented and discussed in debate with frankness uninhibited.

(1) *Carrying the Gospel to the non-Christian World.*

This Commission had been presided over by Dr. Mott, who marshalled its evidence and conclusions with characteristic clarity and comprehensiveness. Six hundred missionaries had replied to the questions put. Inevitably the report, though of great historical interest to the student of Church History, is out-of-date, but its underlying principle remains valid. It is good for the whole Church to be confronted with the needs of the whole world, of areas occupied and unoccupied, if missionaries and Churches are to be saved from local or limited parochialisms, and if the efforts of all are to be concerted to meet the vastness of the task and seize opportunities that may never recur.

(2) *The Church in the Mission Field.*

Here again the Report is dated, but it is well to recognise that Edinburgh, in spite of its Missionary Society make-up, did contemplate with thanksgiving the coming into being of Churches: the Church "no longer as an inspiring but distant ideal, but an actual Church in being strongly rooted and faithful in many lands", though of course at different stages of maturity. It recognised that while a Church remains "in pupillage to the Home Church, the relation between the two is essentially temporary and its organisation must be regarded as transitional and not permanent. . . . in order to conserve the spontaneity and self-determination of its nascent spiritual life". The word "indigenisation" had not been coined, but the ideal underlies the whole diagnosis of what is needed of organisation, staffing, discipline, etc., for the building-up of a Church.

(3) *Education in relation to the Christianisation of National Life.*

Bishop Gore presided over this Commission, which, though it did not use the ugly noun "indigenisation", did make considerable play with the adjective "indigenous". "The greatest possible care will have to be taken to avoid the risk of de-nationalising those who are being trained" in all the stages and methods of education which the Commission explores. Great stress is laid on the importance of the vernacular. "Religion can only be acclimatised in the heart if it finds expression in the native language." "A theology which is really indigenous as well as truly Christian and Biblical must develop a native terminology. . . . An indigenous Church means a native Christian literature." The Report emphasises the "transcendent" importance of the edificatory character of Christian Education, by which it means primarily the building-up of the Native Church through the training of its leaders, though it would not by any means exclude the building-up of the Nation through the training of its leaders. The whole setting of Christian Colleges and Schools in India and China (the main interests of the Commission) has been revolutionised, but in what was said of the claim for reinforcement of the highest spiritual and intellectual calibre, Edinburgh was thinking ahead of its time.

(4) *The Missionary Message in relation to non-Christian Religions.*

The thinking of this Commission, led by Dr. Cairns, was certainly in advance of its time, but deeply affected the future approach. It would be misleading to apply to it the misused word "appeasement", but it records that "on all hands the merely iconoclastic attitude is condemned as radically unwise and unjust". There is practically universal testimony that the true attitude of the Christian Missionary should be one of true understanding, and as far as possible of sympathy. Missionaries are encouraged to find points of contact in the six fields surveyed. This is an attitude which has survived the attacks of Barth and Kraemer to find its active expression in the work of Kenneth Cragg in his approach to the Muslim.

(5) *The Preparation of Missionaries.*

This Report was based on replies sent in by a host of those engaged in recruiting and training missionaries, and by missionaries themselves commenting on their own training or lack of it. It revealed the nakedness of the land. Training in some quarters went no further than instruction in the particular ethos and prejudices of the sending Society, and bore little relation to the stature demanded in the two last Reports. The all-too-prevalent assumption that anybody would do to staff the work overseas, given a modicum of piety, received a resounding blow.

It was in this context that Azariah (not yet Bishop) made what sounded at the time a startling intervention. "The foreign Missionary should exhibit unmistakably that he is not afraid to give up positions of leadership and authority into the hands of his Indian fellow-workers, and that his joy is fulfilled when he decreases and his Indian brother increases. . . . You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We also ask for *love*. Give us *friends*."

(6) *Missions and Governments.*

No Report is so out-dated as this, so completely have problems in the relations between Church and State grown in range, complexity and intensity since Lord Balfour of Burleigh presided over Commission 6. No one could foresee how soon acute situations were to arise in Europe itself, and throughout Asia under the spur not only of ideology (a word unknown as yet) but of aggressive nationalism. Yet it is providential, in the light of the future, that basic principles were discussed in an international Christian gathering, however comparatively minor and static the context to which they were applied.

(7) *The Home Base.*

Some of the discussions on this subject may appear naïve, but it was good that for the first time the authorities of all the Societies of the world were grappling with their response to all the gigantic tasks revealed in earlier reports and discussions. How was the Church at large to be seized of the facts of the day? The facts of today are different from the facts of yesterday and the facts of tomorrow, and techniques for meeting them differ, but the principles and problems survive.

(8) *Co-operation and Unity.*

A great deal of water has flowed under the bridges since Edinburgh threw some light on their design and indispensability. There was universal testimony to the growth of the spirit of unity, though no concealment of differing convictions. The champions of Coalition and the champions of Coalescence, each party discovered the power and pertinacity of the other. Mr. Chen Ching-yi arrested attention when he voiced the demands of China for a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions. "China is a country that with all its imperfections loves unity and attributes the difficulties as due to our Western friends, not to ourselves."

This leads us naturally to the "After" of Edinburgh. If all came to an end with the dispersal of delegates, what lasting effect could there be? It has been mentioned that resolutions were taboo, but to this rule there was one exception. After the discussion on Co-operation and Unity, which had revealed sharp differences of view, Sir Andrew Fraser proposed one which met demands voiced not only by his own Commission, but by Bishop Gore's on Education and Lord Balfour of Burleigh's on Governments. It began with the words "That a Continuation Committee be appointed". Readers of Temple Gairdner's description of the scene when the motion was put may have ungrounded suspicions that he exaggerated the intensity of the enthusiasm with which it was carried. A spontaneous Doxology burst forth. It was indeed a memorable moment comparable to that at Amsterdam's conclusion, when the World Council of Churches proclaimed "We intend to stay together". Gairdner himself seemed to feel that some explanations were called for of such a demonstration over what was after all only the appointment of a Committee. "The Continuation Committee," he writes, "seemed to become transmuted by some sort of spiritual alchemy into a symbol of something greater far." He quotes two delegates' comments: "This could not have been launched except in such an atmosphere as that which we find ourselves breathing here: ten years ago it would have been and was impossible." "I have come to a point in my religious experience in this Conference which five years ago I should not have dreamed of."

We have already referred to some of the outcomes of Edinburgh which, via "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order", led up to the World Council of Churches and to our own British Council of Churches. For the rest, we must refer to the impressive family-tree in Archbishop Temple's biography, and to Miss Ruth Rouse's monumental history of the Ecumenical Movement (up to 1954) which, in spite of its 800 pages, should be consulted by anyone who wishes to assess the true significance of Edinburgh 1910.

But it would be a distortion of that history not to end by registering the noble record of Edinburgh's eldest progeny, the International Missionary Council, with its series of notable Conferences and its succession of outstanding leaders; and within it our own Conference of British Missionary Societies, with headquarters appropriately called Edinburgh House, which is our own parallel to the National Christian Councils which have counted for so much in the history and co-operation of the Churches overseas and in the story of South India and its unification.

The I.M.C. preserved its own identity when the W.C.C. was formed, though most intimately associated with it. It is expected that it will shortly merge its identity in the World Council, though the difference of composition between the two bodies, one based on a Society, the other on a Church membership, has presented difficulties. There would be no disloyalty to Edinburgh in such a happening, which may indeed be reckoned to the credit of its original foresight in facing a developing future. The only disloyalty to Edinburgh would be to lose sight of its experience of Unity in Christ and to lapse into a glorification of separate Churches and Societies acting and planning and policy-making in isolation from one another. That would be a great betrayal against which the observance of this Jubilee may serve as warning and inspiration.

IRAN TODAY

THE RIGHT REVEREND W. J. THOMPSON

Bishop in Iran

PERSIA is this year celebrating the 2500th anniversary of the founding of the monarchy which they date as from Cyrus the Great so well known to us in the West through the Old Testament. She claims that she has the monarchy with the longest history behind it and is proud of the fact. In 1962 we shall be celebrating the golden jubilee of the Episcopal Church of Iran for the Diocese was formed in 1912. It is therefore suitable that we should look back over this period and see how things have developed. We shall confine ourselves more particularly to the last 25 years during which it has been my privilege to be bishop. It would be difficult to find a similar period in the long history of the country during which the changes have been so radical and so spectacular as we have witnessed during these years, and the tempo seems to be still increasing all the time.

Shah Reza was at the height of his power and his fame in 1935 having successfully deposed Ahmad Shah, the last of the Qajar dynasty and founded a new Pahlavi dynasty in 1926. There were few regrets over the disappearance of the old and high hopes for the future. Iran suddenly woke up and a great wave of national feeling swept over the land. In spite of the fact that he became a fierce dictator in the end, Reza Shah is rightly remembered today in Iran as Reza Shah the Great, for while he was ruthless in his methods he was fearless in the way he restored order and security, introduced reforms and changed age old customs and the

habits of his people. He is rightly considered the Father of modern Iran.

The second World War revealed the great strategic importance of the Middle East. Not only does it lie directly on the highway between east and west, but it is the area where great oil reserves are to be found. All the great powers are anxious to stake their claims and increase their influence in these parts. The growing spirit of nationalism was bound to lead to a clash with foreign interests and ambitions. In Iran this led eventually (in 1953) to a break of diplomatic relations with Britain and the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The intention of the government (under Dr. Mussadiq) was to expel all British subjects and also to wrest the government out of the hands of the Shah; and he nearly succeeded. Such action was very popular with a large section of the people; but wiser counsels eventually prevailed and the political storm passed over. The fact of Iran's long history and old established cultural background probably helped as much as anything else to the return to more normal conditions and saved the country from red revolution. The country is now very definitely committed to alliance with the West. It is at the present time probably the most stable part of the Middle East. The fact that Iran is not an Arab country makes it easier for it to take a more detached attitude to some of the burning questions which trouble the rest of the Middle East.

An outstanding feature of the period since the war is the tremendous influx of Americans and the influence they are exerting. A large military mission advises and trains the army in the use of modern arms and warfare. Point IV organisation (one of their largest missions is in Iran) exerts a big influence in many ways in the social and educational fields contributing greatly to the rapid social changes which are taking place. While standards of living are undoubtedly rising the great rise also in the cost of living results in much dissatisfaction and the gap between rich and poor seems hardly to be any the less. This fact together with the inevitable loosening of old ties and the discrediting of old sanctions and standards is a natural breeding ground for communist ideas. But for the moment they are driven underground and cannot find open expression. One of the great problems facing the government is how to improve social standards and produce a more equitable distribution of wealth. A Bill for the re-distribution of land is under consideration, but it is a difficult and dangerous thing to disturb long-established systems.

Among the most spectacular changes which have been taking place is the improvement in communications by air, road and rail. The first railway was constructed under Reza Shah and almost its first use was to transport military supplies from the Persian Gulf to Russia during the war. All the main roads in the towns and even of the larger villages are now asphalted and the long roads between the towns are being improved and some of them are in process of being asphalted. Iranian Airways has developed a fine service with a very good record of safety to its credit. The pilots are mostly Americans. The Teheran Airport is one of the most up-to-date of its kind. The government has very ambitious plans for the development of industries and the modernisation of life in general. Factories of all kinds are being built and foreign capital and

technically trained personnel are welcomed to work in partnership with Persians. The new Oil Consortium which replaced the old A.I.O.C. is working for the Iran National Oil Company.

More fundamental for the rapid change of outlook is the phenomenal development of education at all levels. The government education authority has an impossible task in trying to cope with the masses of additional children who each year clamour to be taken in. Inevitably in existing circumstances while the number of children increases so rapidly the standard of education tends to deteriorate simply because of the lack of trained teachers to go round. This state of things is bound to continue for some time even though the authorities are doing their best to tackle the problem. In such circumstances it is not surprising that many parents who can afford it are sending their children abroad for their education. The country is rapidly becoming literate and this will inevitably lead to greater demands by the people on the government. Connected with all this is the great advance in the output of books, magazines and newspapers. The standard of production of these publications is improving all the time. The classics of other countries are being translated as well as French novels and detective stories of all kinds. The full result of all this has yet to be seen. Radio and now television have also tremendous influence.

Obviously the changes are much more marked in the larger towns but more gradually the remotest villages are also being drawn in. The motor bus is almost ubiquitous and by this rapid and cheap mode of transport the villager finds it easy to visit the town and return with new ideas and demands as well as with material goods. The radio has also invaded the villages and is a means of injecting new ideas. The countries of the Middle East have not been slow in harnessing it for its own propaganda purposes not only to their own people but to criticise other governments and undermine the loyalty of their subjects. This has now become a common practice. As far as one can see, however, the effect of the Russian propaganda against Iran has been rather to strengthen the feelings of loyalty than the reverse.

Before the granting of constitutional reforms about fifty years ago the religious leaders were by far the most influential group and virtually ruled the country. Those changes however weakened their position and Reza Shah completed their downfall by the direct attacks he made on them and the old order of things. Since then they have regained some of their influence, but will never enjoy the power they once exerted. Amongst the more educated elements of the country and those most affected by western thought and ideas active faith in Islam has been greatly undermined. The religious questions to which most now seek an answer are very similar to those met with in the West, though they may be couched in other terms more in keeping with their Moslem background and thought. Among the less educated elements Islam is still very strong. This does not mean that Islam is not still a very powerful political force and is socially as strong as it ever was; but as a spiritual force capable of satisfying the needs of men caught up in the tensions and the frustrations and fears of the 20th century Islam in Iran is largely a spent force. Herein lies the great challenge and opportunity of the

Christian church. Can we so present the Truth and Love revealed to the world in Jesus Christ in such a way that they can be seen and appreciated by those who are uprooted and rudderless? It is the great task of the Church to interpret the eternal Gospel in terms that a Moslem can appreciate and understand.

In the midst of all these changes the tender plant of the Christian church has been taking root and growing up. It has of course been affected by what has been happening around it and reflects many of the same trends. This period has witnessed the complete transfer from "mission" to "church". This is, of course, in line with the general trend of development of mission work throughout the world. The centre of authority is now the Diocesan Council inside Iran and not a missionary society outside. The foreign missionary takes his place alongside of his Irani fellow member. This is such an accepted fact today that it is hard to think back to the time when such an attitude was resented, criticised and questioned. We thank God for the spirit of fellowship which exists whereby the feeling of difference has largely disappeared. The Diocesan Council meets annually and all matters of policy and finance are freely discussed and decisions taken. We thank God that today we have a majority of Irani clergy, though this is due to the political difficulties of a few years ago when all but one of the foreign clergy were refused permission to return or were expelled from the country. We have not been able since to replace the full number. Today we have five Irani priests three of whom are from a Moslem and two from a Jewish background. We have one ordinand training in India who comes from a Zoroastrian background. When he is ordained we shall have clergy from all the principle religious communities in the country. A very important step forward was taken when the Anglican Communion in 1957 took the first steps towards the establishment of a Province of the Middle East. This was a move in the right direction the full effects of which have still to be felt.

While the church itself has become organisationally indigenous yet it seems impossible to convince the authorities and the non-Christians that the church is not a foreign concern and that we foreigners are not in some way political. This is a great embarrassment to our Persian church members, who are similarly tainted because of their association with us. Their motives are always suspect and they are not given the credit of becoming Christians for sincere reasons. There are various causes for this kind of attitude, but the effect is to discourage those who would become open Christians from doing so because of the odium which they inevitably incur. We know this is no new problem or peculiar to Iran, but it does not thereby become any less irritating. We remember that even Our Lord Jesus Christ was condemned on a political charge and "the servant is not greater than his Lord" and must face the same sort of wilful misrepresentation. The number of those who are prepared to commit themselves fully by taking the step of baptism is small though there are a large number who are interested and would be prepared to go further if it were not for the ostracism they would encounter and the economic risks and problems which might follow through loss of employment, etc. But we know that it is only the spirit of Christ who can

convert a man and give him the courage and spiritual energy to take the final step of commitment. Those who are most open in their faith are sometimes those who most quickly obtain a grudging acceptance from their families. It is often those who try to compromise who are more persecuted.

The Church Missionary Society opened up work in Isfahan in 1870 when the Rev. Dr. Bruce obtained permission to stay in Persia. The American Presbyterian Board of Missions had already been at work for many years previously in the northern parts of the country. An agreement was made between the two societies that they would not compete with each other. The C.M.S. confined its activities to the south while the Americans occupied the north. At that time, when communications were so slow and before churches began to grow up as a result of the evangelistic efforts of the missions, the full consequences of such a policy could not be seen. The result has been, however, that a Church of a Presbyterian type grew up in the north while an Episcopal Church came into being in the south. With the introduction of rapid modern means of communications and the consequent movement of population the old division has become out of date and meaningless. Today a large proportion of our church members are living in Teheran, the capital. Consequently some years ago it was mutually agreed by both missions that the old comity arrangement should be abandoned. Its place has in fact been taken by the Church Council of Iran which is a Regional Council under the N.E.C.C., where our two churches—Presbyterian and Episcopal—meet on a common platform to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern. We have developed our work in Teheran by opening a new centre there to serve the large number of our own members who now live there. (The C.M.J. have always had a centre in Teheran since they began work over 80 years ago.) This step was taken by the Diocesan Council after consultation with the other church, not only to follow up and keep in touch with our church members from other towns, but also to serve the rapidly growing foreign community many of whom are Episcopalians. Thus a long standing hope has been realised.

The British community in Teheran now numbers about a thousand and is steadily increasing. The American community is very much larger still. This chaplaincy work of supplying the spiritual needs of the foreign community is a new responsibility which the diocese recognises as very important not only in the capital but also in Khuzistan where the great oil fields are situated. In the past the A.I.O.C. supplied their own chaplains and paid for them, but the Consortium which has replaced it will not undertake this and so the diocese was obliged to take up the matter. This was brought to the C.C.I. for discussion, since the British and American personnel in the oil fields are about equal. It was decided to work in co-operation, and each church appoints one chaplain to this area. The Presbyterian and Episcopal ministers live in different centres but work in close association and frequently exchange pulpits, etc. In this way we feel the needs of a very large variety of church backgrounds can best be met. We are thus trying to serve our own nationals and expatriates who are far moved from their home churches and who exert such a great influence in this country, and by their conduct can help or hinder

the presentation of the Gospel in this Moslem land. The official "missionary" is now only a small fraction of the total impact of the West here and throughout Asia and Africa. This is one of the most important new factors in these days which is often overlooked, when considering the presentation of the Gospel to non-Christian peoples.

We may say that "church" has now replaced "mission" in our thinking as well as the organisation of the work. A Diocesan Council has now been in existence for over 15 years, it has full executive authority not only over all financial matters, but the location of all workers whether national or "foreign" are decided by it. Under it there are a number of diocesan committees to direct the work of the various activities—medical, educational, evangelistic, literature and blind welfare. During this period the political climate has varied greatly. At one time it looked as if the whole of the foreign workers would be expelled from the country, and those outside not allowed to return. Actually we were reduced to one priest who just managed to evade being turned out though they removed him from his church and took him off to the capital. It was a miracle that the hospitals did not close. Actually the order to close in Isfahan came a day before Dr. Mussadiq fell and the new regime reversed the order and work was restarted. Today we thank God for a most friendly atmosphere and great freedom to carry on our work in the unobtrusive way which is most likely to allay suspicion or opposition.

Perhaps the greatest blow which the Church has had during these years was the closing of all our educational work, when the late Shah ordered the closing of all foreign schools. The Americans had a large College in Teheran and a number of other High Schools. We also had a number of High Schools and Primary Schools but all of these were taken out of our hands and the government bought the properties on which they had been built in 1940. This was a great blow to the fortunes of our small Christian community and the prospect of having no Christian schools where the children of our Christian families could be trained under Christian influences was very serious. A few years ago some of the parents got together and decided that something must be done and began in a very small way to organise classes for their own children. This has now grown until we have a Church Primary School of six classes for boys and girls. Many of the problems concerning government recognition and staff and finance still remain unsolved, but the school exists and is one of the most promising pieces of work. We have over 50 Christian children and a total of about 250 pupils in the school. But we urgently need educationists who would come out to supervise and teach the staff, etc. It would be a wonderful job for anyone who understands the importance of such work.

Medical work, first on the field, is still one of the most valuable means of evangelism. It not only removes suspicion but creates the conditions of love and service which open the way for presenting the Gospel naturally. When the hospital in Isfahan was first built it was the only medical centre in the whole of South Persia. Today the government has a very extensive medical service and this naturally creates new problems for us, but in spite of the fact that our hospital buildings and equipment cannot compare with many of the government institutions they still lead

the way in shewing the true spirit of selfless service which is distinctive of the Christian way. One hospital was destroyed in a flood in 1942 and another had to be closed so that now we have only two hospitals, in Isfahan and in Shiraz; but these are doing wonderful service.

During the War (in 1943) the Church was presented with a new challenge. The Allies occupied Western Iran and interned all German residents in the area. As a result a German Mission Blind School came into our hands and we had to do our best to keep this work going with the help of grants from the Orphaned Missions organisation under the I.M.C. After the war it was possible to develop the work, and an expert blind welfare worker was recruited from England. A very fine Blind School and Hostel is now growing up which is entirely supported by voluntary contributions from Iran, America and England. The School is getting recognition from the government and already several blind girls have passed their Government Primary Certificate in competition with sighted children. This work is a great witness to the meaning of Christian Service and has already influenced the Government to take an interest in Blind Welfare.

Perhaps, as we noted above, the most distinctive and most important development of these last years has been the tremendous progress in the production of literature to correspond with the rapid rise in literacy. This has naturally opened up a new and very important avenue for the church to present the Gospel by means of the printed page. It has tremendous possibilities, but it can miss the mark very badly if what is printed does not appeal. If the material is not expressed in the language of the heart as well as the head. In other words translation is not merely a matter of language but of idiom. The Message of the Gospel has to be translated and interpreted. The Church in Iran is still very short of nationals who have the gift and the inclination to write out of their own experience and so much of the Christian literature available is still only translation of books written by foreigners. But we look forward to the day when the Christian Church in Iran will produce its own Christian theologians and writers. We can see this coming and we thank God for the few who are striving to express the vital truths of salvation and new life in Christ in their own idiom. The other problem is that of distribution. Bookshops in the larger centres are essential but in addition we should be taking the literature out to the villages where people are eager to read. This needs a van and colporteurs to tour the country. We thank God for the Bible colporteurs who are distributing the Scriptures but this work needs to be supplemented by general Christian literature. One new development of the last few years has been the Bible Correspondence Courses which have been prepared and reach out everywhere. Hundreds who would never have heard the Gospel have been brought near by this means and some have found their faith through this contact. At present three courses are printed in Persian. The first is a series on St. Mark's Gospel, another is on "God's Plan for Man" and a third is a study of St. Luke's Gospel. Other courses are contemplated.

During the period we have been considering there has been a great change in the attitude of the Christian Church and Christian missions in relation to Islam and the other great non-Christian religions. The grow-

ing interest in the world of Islam is not only a reflection of the recognition of its political importance and that it dominates some of the most strategically important areas of the world. The Christian Church has at last realised the need to try and understand what Islam is all about and why it has such a deep hold on its followers. As Dr. Kraemer has rightly said: "For the first time since the Constantine victory of 312 A.D. and its consequences, the Christian Church is heading towards a real and spiritual encounter with the great non-Christian religions." This is especially true about Islam.

In the past Christendom and in fact the Christian Church itself has been content to oppose Islam and has hardly penetrated beyond its defences to discover what Islam really is and how the Moslem may be won for Christ. The literature now being written on the subject of Moslem evangelism is very different from what it used to be. It is more sympathetic in attitude and indicates a desire to "make contact" rather than to oppose. There is a desire to look at Islam from within, so to speak, and to present Christ not as Someone totally foreign, but to lead the Moslem to understand Him better and to discover Him as the One who can fulfil the deepest longings of the heart of Everyman. We have not to try and defeat the Moslem in argument so much as to win his confidence and by our genuine desire to go as far as possible along with him in our discovery of the Truth, to shew him where our paths separate and help him to discover Christ for himself. Such mountains of misunderstanding and suspicion have grown up between us through the centuries that it must inevitably take time to clear the path, but a beginning has been made and we thank God. May He lead us all into the knowledge of the Truth and the Love of Christ.

THE CHURCH IN CHINA

Our Correspondent writes:—

I think that I may have been over-hasty in suggesting (in my article in the January 1960 number of *The East and West Review*) that the Anglican Church in China no longer exists. *The Living Church*, the American Episcopal weekly, printed recently a long interview with the Reverend Chao Fu-san, Dean of Yenching Theological Seminary and Chaplain to the Bishop of North China, by the Australian Anglican journalist, Mr. Francis James, who had been in China a few years before. From this it appears that there are in many places united services but that the Bishops continue to consult together; and that "faith and order" issues are not as neglected as I suggested.

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

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(Reprinted by courtesy of the author and of the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.)

THE universities of South Africa are among the victims of apartheid. The victimization is both subtle and insidious. A university which accepts a non-white student does not commit an offence, but a non-white student does commit an offence if he enrolls in any of the universities (except one) without permission from the Minister. The one exception is the University of South Africa, which conducts all its courses by correspondence and is not a university at all in the generally accepted sense of the word.

The procedure for excluding non-whites from "white" universities is described in two sections of the Extension of University Education Act, 1959. Section 32 of this act simply debar non-white persons from registering with or attending any "white" university, with no concessions and no appeal. This section is not yet in force; meanwhile, since January 1st, 1960, the attendance of non-whites at "white" universities is controlled by Section 31 of the act (entitled "Interim Limitation"), which prohibits any non-white person from registering with or attending any established university, other than the University of South Africa, without the written consent of the Minister. For Bantu students it is the Minister of Bantu Education who has to give permission; for other non-white students it is the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. This is the first academic year in which the new law of apartheid in universities has operated. Up to the present, although several Cape Coloured and Indian Students have been given permission to attend universities, all but two out of 153 applications from Bantu to attend universities have been refused.

CYNICAL PLEDGE

It is, therefore, already clear that Section 31 of the act, which provides a means for deferring the full impact of university apartheid until the non-white university colleges have developed, is not being used by the present Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. W. A. Maree. Indeed, at an election campaign meeting in Natal last October, Mr. Maree assured his audience that he would be "very miserly" in granting permission for Bantu to attend white universities even in this interim period. He is honouring his cynical pledge.

What is the attitude of the South African universities to this law which debars a student from attending a university which is prepared to admit

him? Unfortunately, they have not shown a united front to the Government. Excluding the anomalous University of South Africa (which is in fact a block of offices in Pretoria) there are eight universities in South Africa. Four of them (Capetown, Natal, Rhodes, and Witwatersrand) are described as "English-speaking", the other four (Orange Free State, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and Stellenbosch, are described as "Afrikaans-speaking." The English-speaking universities have protested, with dignity and determination, against this barrier erected outside their open doors. As recently as March this year, the Chancellor of the Witwatersrand University (the Hon. R. Feetham) used his graduation address to scarify the Government's policy of university apartheid. A week later, at a graduation ceremony in Pietermaritzburg, the Chancellor of the University of Natal (the Hon. D. G. Shepstone) was equally outspoken. In a public lecture to the Institute of Citizenship last year, the Chancellor of Capetown University (the Hon. Mr. Justice van de Centlivres) made the following unambiguous statement:

I think it is clear from the manner in which the Government has approached this matter, that they are blundering blindly into university apartheid without at any stage having submitted the question of principle to enquiry and report by an independent commission.

And about a year ago the Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University (Dr. T. Alty) led an academic procession of protest from his university campus into the streets of Grahamstown to condemn the disaffiliation of Fort Hare College for Africans. In a speech made on that occasion he said:

It is for these reasons we are gathered together this morning—to reaffirm our belief in the academic freedoms won during past centuries. . . . We also most solemnly protest against measures which we are convinced are contrary to the best interests of all the universities of the Union, and indeed contrary to the best interest of the Union itself.

FORT HARE

All these universities have already suffered deprivations on account of the act. Capetown and Witwatersrand were "open" universities, admitting students to all their classes without any colour bar. Natal University has a branch in downtown Durban for its non-white students; but the Minister of Bantu Education will not grant permission for Bantu students to attend even this downtown branch. Rhodes University was the sponsor of Fort Hare University College and worked in close friendship with it; but now the Government has taken over Fort Hare, dismissed the Council and some of the staff, and put it under new (and ominous) management.

So much for the English-speaking universities. The attitude of the four Afrikaans-speaking universities is totally different. They do not suffer directly from the operation of the act, because it is in any case contrary to their policy to enrol non-whites. In public and officially they subscribe to the Government's apartheid policy. In private and informally, some of their professors and lecturers are shocked at the provisions of the act and they are prepared to admit that the Government

made a grave mistake when it carried apartheid forcibly into universities. One of the very few flickers of hope for South Africa is to be found in the liberalism among some Afrikaans-speaking intellectuals. Three notable examples are Professor B. B. Keet in Stellenbosch, Professor P. V. Pistorius in Pretoria (both of whom have published incisive pamphlets condemning the Government's apartheid policy), and the Hon. H. A. Fagan (formerly Chief Justice of South Africa), whose devastating book, *Our Responsibility*, written for his fellow Afrikaans-speaking people, is being eagerly read both in its original Afrikaans and in English translation. It would be wishful thinking to suppose that the present Government might listen to liberal Afrikaans-speaking intellectuals; but overseas critics of South Africa's apartheid policy do well to remember that they have support not only from people of English stock in South Africa, but from people of Dutch stock as well.

BANTU COLLEGES

The immediate effect of the Extension of University Education Act, 1959, is to put higher education out of reach of hundreds of non-whites. But the title of the act is not entirely cynical; there is a positive side to it, for it not only closes the "white" universities to non-whites: it also establishes three so-called university colleges for Bantu and one for other non-whites. It is from these constructive sections of the act that one has to seek for signs of sincerity in the Government's policy of university apartheid. All four colleges opened this year, and enough is known about them already to indicate the way they are going.

The University College of the Western Cape, for Coloured students only, opened in March at Bellville, near Capetown. It occupies temporary premises in a former primary school. It has enrolled 164 students. Its aim is rigidly utilitarian. Its Rector (J. G. Meiring) states that its purpose is to prepare students for the professions. (The only professions open to Coloured students are teaching and medicine, and there is to be no medical school in Bellville.) Some idea of the spirit of the place can be gathered from an interview the Rector gave to a correspondent of the *Cape Argus*. In the presence of the correspondent, the Rector went up to one of the students in the botany class:

"Now look me straight in the eyes," he said. "I want you to answer this question, and I want you to tell me the truth. Don't tell me what you think I want to hear. And don't tell me a lie. Are you happy here?"

And (says the correspondent) the student smiled, gulped, and assured the Rector that he was perfectly happy. It is not surprising that the leaders of the Coloured community in Capetown have their doubts about the value of this college (compared with Capetown University) for their people.

THE THREE BANTU COLLEGES

THE three Bantu colleges are the University College of the North, in the Transvaal, to serve the Sotho people; the University College of

Zululand, north of Durban, to serve the Zulus; and the University College of Fort Hare, near Grahamstown, annexed from Rhodes University, to serve the Xhosa people.

The first two of these colleges are new. In each of them an academic staff of sorts (composed of Afrikaans-speaking whites and a sprinkling of Bantu) has been hurriedly assembled and teaching has begun. They are frankly tribal colleges set in tribal reservations. It is not intended that Zulus should enrol in the Xhosa college or Sothos in the Zulu college.

The University College of Fort Hare, which was opened by General Botha forty-four years ago, has had a fine record as the only university college for Africans in South Africa. Under the benevolent tutelage of Rhodes University Fort Hare enjoyed the traditional freedoms of a university college and was well on its way towards independence. Under the 1959 Act the Minister of Bantu Education has taken over the college, dispensed with the governing body, dismissed many members of the staff (including the principal), and degraded it to the status of the tribal college. When the president of the National Union of South African Students recently visited the college to invite the students there to affiliate with his union, he was stopped at the door by the rector and told that if he did not get out the police would be called.

DIRECT CONTROL

At present the Minister of Bantu Education is directly controlling all three Bantu colleges. He appointed the three rectors. He appointed the first members of staff. Under the guise of nomination by the Governor-General he appointed the councils of the colleges. Each college has two councils: one composed solely of whites and the other (called advisory council) composed of non-whites. Hitherto both kinds of council have been impotent. Recently the new Rector of Fort Hare explained to a group of visitors from overseas universities how the college had been reconstituted. He was asked what part the council and the advisory council had played in this reconstitution. He replied that the councils had not yet met.

There could be nothing but praise for new university colleges in South Africa in regions where they could easily be attended by non-whites, provided they were open to any qualified students who wanted to enter them, provided they had the autonomy common to university institutions elsewhere, and provided their establishment did not coincide with the exclusion of non-whites from other universities. But none of these conditions is being fulfilled. Furthermore, they are out of reach of thousands of the students for whom they are intended; for non-whites are poor, and a Xhosa student living in Capetown (who could possibly afford to attend Capetown University or even the college at Bellville from his home) now has to travel over six hundred miles to a residential tribal college: while a coloured student living in Durban or Johannesburg would have to travel about a thousand miles to Bellville to attend college. In the light of this evidence an overseas observer can be forgiven for doubting the sincerity of the Government's intentions, even over the constructive parts of the 1959 act.

PURGE OF STUDENTS

Naturally the new colleges are bitterly criticized by non-whites. The enrolment of new students at Fort Hare has dropped from more than 120 in 1959 to 69 in 1960. The new rector was received with hostile demonstrations. There was a purge of students and some were expelled. Some of the students who remain there are miserably insecure. Their chief worry is that the only profession open to them on graduation is teaching in Bantu schools. Those who would like to serve their own communities in ways other than teaching (e.g. as social welfare officers on reservations) see no opportunities ahead. Posts of this sort (they say), which might provide leadership over the natives, are reserved for whites. Indeed the restrictions of job-reservation, which exclude all but whites from most skilled trades and professions, remove most of the incentive for higher education among the non-whites of South Africa.

The four university colleges will take degrees of the University of South Africa: an institution which is in full sympathy with the Government's policy. What the standard of the degree will be no one knows. Certainly some students of sub-matriculation standard are being admitted to the non-white colleges, and it is rumoured that each non-white college will set and correct its own examinations, without the sort of control which (say) the University of London exerts over examinations in the university colleges in Nigeria and Rhodesia. In trying to generate confidence in its policy the Government will put money into the colleges. The salaries of academic staff are already higher than those being paid to teachers of equivalent status in the "white" universities. Buildings will be put up. Equipment will be purchased. For a time the non-white colleges will get all they need: all except freedom.

The universities of South Africa have been humiliated by their Government. It is hard to see what they can do except protest with dignity and wait with patience. They are dependent on State support for the greater part of their funds. Government grants are given by the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science on the advice of a committee which contains only one university representative, and he is from an Afrikaans-speaking university. The opportunity for effective action did present itself when the Government introduced in 1957 the Separate University Education Bill, which was drawn up without any consultation with the Committee of University Principals (although this committee was set up by act of Parliament in 1955). The bill had to be withdrawn on technical grounds and was later replaced by the bill leading to the present act. If all nine South African universities had then combined to denounce the intention behind the bill, the Government might have been sufficiently embarrassed to drop it. But five out of the nine universities made no complaint, and now it is too late.

MORAL SUPPORT

All South African universities have been inevitably weakened by their Government's policy of university apartheid. It may be that other universities in the Commonwealth cannot offer them much more than moral support. But even moral support is welcome. At a time when the English-speaking universities are defying the sanctions of the present

state of emergency by maintaining their disapproval of the new act; when some of their teachers are being taken from their families by the police in the middle of the night; when Rhodes University could not confer a degree on one of the very few non-white scholars in South Africa because he was in gaol; when members of the staff of Afrikaans-speaking universities who speak up for academic freedom are ostracized by some of their colleagues—it is important that academics in other parts of the Commonwealth should not confuse the South African universities with the South African Government.

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

1960

CHURCH OF INDIA, PAKISTAN, BURMA AND CEYLON

THE LORD BISHOP OF BOMBAY,
The Right Reverend William Quinlan Lash

THOUGH the Church in India boasts at least one Close, and shady verandahs which have all the value of cloisters, yet few of its scholars can confine themselves to their studies, and contemporaneously most men play a number of parts. In consequence there is a decidedly pragmatic approach when preparing a Book of Common Prayer. If some Collect is being adapted or reshaped, or perhaps freshly translated from some ancient tongue, the question will immediately be raised as to whether some word or phrase will go easily into some Indian language. Round the table of the Liturgical Committee, phrases in different tongues will be tried out, and so much do the languages of India owe, especially where Prayer is concerned, to Sanscrit, that even those from different parts of the country can generally understand the words and phrases used. Actual village and town congregations which will have to use the Book are never far from the mind. This is even more so when the Draft comes before the Episcopal Synod consisting of the Diocesan Bishops of the Province with an equal number of Clerical and Lay Assessors. It sometimes means that some form which would be preferred on strictly liturgical grounds, or some inclusion, or exclusion, is dictated by practical considerations of this kind.

Several years of work went into the preparation of the first Draft by a Liturgical Committee of the Province, small in number. The first orders for its preparation were given in 1945, and the Draft came before the Synod in 1951, and has come several times since in various revisions, and, in the later stages, has been sent down for advice to all the Diocesan Councils, whose advice, and the advice of the Diocesan Liturgical Committees, were considered in an enlarged Liturgical Committee, which had Groups in each of the four countries, examining both the material and the comments upon it. The final Draft was prepared in 1958 and presented to the Episcopal Synod at the end of that year. It came before the General Council of the Province for its concurrence in January 1960, and received concurrence with only one dissentient in the three houses of Bishops, Clergy and Laity. This probably is due, not so much to everybody's personal satisfaction with every part of the book, as to the conviction that it really had had wide consideration in the Church; though far from perfect, it would provide a book with which and from

which the Church of the Province can go forward, instead of going forward, as hitherto is the case, from 1662. To adopt the Book in place of 1662 will require yet another General Council to pass for a second time the necessary amended Canon which was first passed when the General Council gave its concurrence. So the process is not yet quite completed.

After the Kalendar, which does not present any very surprising features, but has rather more New Testament Saints than that of 1662 and a fewer number of Saints in general, especially beyond the first few centuries, and Tables and Rules, Part I of the Book deals with The Common Prayer. Morning and Evening Prayer provided one of the most interesting debates of the whole series of discussions. In the Episcopal Synod of 1955, one of the members maintained that it was not in accordance with Indian experience to begin worship with Penitence. Penitence only could come fittingly after the mind and heart have been lifted up to God in worship. This led to a suggestion that, instead of the usual penitential introduction, at the very beginning, penitence might come, as in the Sarum form of Prime and Compline, after the Responses, with further customary responses leading to the Collects. Conservatism however prevailed, and this suggestion was not adopted, and the familiar Penitential Introduction remains, though with some modifications. Otherwise Morning and Evening Prayer does not provide any great surprises. Morning Prayer has a further short Canticle: *Urbs Fortitudinis*.

The Responses leading to the Collects did, however, provide one very tough problem. When India became a Republic, it was necessary to do away with the Versicle "O Lord, save the King". There was a strong feeling that there should be a suitable equivalent to this Versicle, but none of those adopted by Anglican Churches in Republics elsewhere were found satisfactory. Either they were not scriptural, or else they did not get over the difficulty that there is hardly any equivalent, as a mystical symbol, to the monarch in countries which do not possess a monarch. Eventually, however, coming later amongst the Versicles, there was found and adopted the following "O Lord, be gracious unto our land", with the same response as to the old Versicle. An alternative Response has also been found to the Versicle "Give peace in our time, O Lord". The Conclusion to Morning and Evening Prayer has been enriched considerably, and material drawn upon from other Revisions of the Prayer Book.

The Litany has been slightly modified in its suffrages, and has an alternative, a Short Litany, for more general occasions. The Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings are a good deal fuller than in most books. This is because the Indian languages have not anything like the variety of devotional sources which can be drawn upon after the third Collect in English, and it is necessary therefore to make a richer provision in the Prayer Book itself.

The Psalter follows the Thanksgivings, and has the Table for Proper Psalms at the beginning of it. The English translation is largely that of a translation made in preparation for the 1927 Book of Common Prayer in England about a decade earlier. There has been some attempt to modify archaisms in the Psalms. Compline and two forms of Family Prayers complete this first Part.

Even in the first Part we began to come up against a controversy which was even more acute when it came to the Prayer for the Church in the Lord's Supper and the Burial of the Dead. This was the nature of the Prayers in which the departed should be commemorated. All wish for commemoration, but a very considerable number of people would have liked a form which a minority would have found it difficult to use. The matter was further complicated by the fact that in a declaration to be made by the Clergy, before Ordination or Licensing, the words occur "I believe the doctrine set forth in the Book of Common Prayer and Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons which this Church has accepted and authorized to be agreeable to the Word of God". At first some attempt was made to put certain phrases in brackets, and allow for their omission, and for the Form of Declaration to be modified to exclude such bracketed portions from the Declaration. This, however, was found to be very awkward liturgically, and not to make for the growing together which is desirable in a common Liturgy. It was eventually decided to enrich such portions as far as possible without offending the scruple of any section of the Church.

Part II covers Baptism and Confirmation, and also includes a form for admitting a Catechumen and the Catechism. Baptism of Adults comes first as being the norm for the Church, and Baptism of Infants follows. Here the exhortatory matter has been reduced as far as possible, and there has been a modification in the section for the Blessing of the Water. It has an eucharistic introduction, and the Blessing comes before the short Mozarabic Prayers. A rubric allows the Blessing to take place at the beginning of the Service instead of immediately before the Baptism. There is a brief charge following the Reception, which includes some material from the final exhortations, which are otherwise omitted. Their place is taken by one or two further questions to the godparents in the Baptism of Infants. The Catechism has been enriched with a section on the Church and the Ministry. Confirmation has a brief exhortation based on Acts I, and four questions. The last of these stresses the motif of witness.

Part III is a novelty. It is entitled "The Ministry of Reconciliation", and gathers together in a Preface teaching, some of it be found elsewhere in the Book of Common Prayer, on Penitence; there are two forms for public use, the second being a Renewal of Baptismal Vows, and two forms for private use, the second being for Confession before a Priest.

Part IV contains material for The Lord's Supper, also called The Holy Communion or The Holy Eucharist. The Order of 1960, in addition to modifications familiar elsewhere, provides an Old Testament Lesson for optional use. It also has a modified form of the Prayer for the Church: in fact two forms, one being in the shape of a Litany. The order of material places Prayer for the Church before that of the State, and the actual paragraphs have some modifications from 1662.

At the Offertory, there is an Offertory Prayer to be said aloud, which can also be said with the people. There is also a provision for the Elements to be brought up by members of the congregation as well as the alms. Provision is made for a number of Ministers, who may read various parts of the Scripture and also some other parts of the Service.

A layman can be authorized to take some of these portions. The idea is to provide a greater participation of the congregation in the Service. Introit Psalms can also be used. When the Introit Psalm and Old Testament Lesson, and a Canticle between the Old Testament Lesson and the Epistle, are used, Morning Prayer may be a praetermitted. This is of some importance as, in a greater part of the Province, almost the only public worship in Indian congregations increasingly becomes "The Lord's Supper" when a Priest is available. This enriched Ante-communion can also be used, when a Priest is not present, from the normal reading desk. There was a proposal for the placing of the Offertory immediately before the Consecration. On liturgical grounds this did find considerable support; on practical grounds it was decided to have a more familiar order in the Prayer Book, but allow the other for experimental use.

As might be expected, the Canon caused the greatest difficulty. Some were not too happy about an Epiclesis, but, in an eastern group of countries, it seemed desirable to have one. The Prayer of Consecration follows directly on the Sanctus and the Benedictus. It is not yet felt to be entirely satisfactory; but, I think, the Province is ready to await further amendment until the Anglican Communion as a whole has thought through further this question of a Canon. There was a good deal of support from all schools of thought for the Breaking of the Bread to come with the Lord's Prayer immediately before the Communion. It did not quite succeed in gaining the day however. The prayer of Humble Access is said before Communion by all those to communicate. The Order of 1662 is also printed for use. The Collects, Lessons, Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Greater Festivals follow the two Orders.

The fifth part of the Prayer Book contains the Occasional Offices. There is not very much to be said about Matrimony or the Churching or the Orders for the Burial of the Dead, except in the latter provision has been made to provide a Memorial Service from the various parts. In the Ministry to the Sick there has been set out a form for the Laying on of Hands and the Anointing of the Sick, and a form for this can be supplemented by other parts of the Ministry. The last part of the Prayer Book consists of the Ordinal. Here the questions have been modified to bring out the duty of Witnessing. The charge to the Priests has provision for modification when the candidate for priesthood will be continuing in his secular calling. In both the order for Priests and for Bishops the name of the Office has been introduced into the Prayer which precedes the Laying on of Hands. There is also provided a short Litany specially for use at Ordinations.

There will be bound up with the Prayer Book the Lectionary, but this will be under the direct authority of the Episcopal Synod. At present the 1922 Lectionary will be printed, but a Special Committee has been set up to work out a Lectionary suited to the Province. Certain principles have been laid down to govern this Lectionary, and are of considerable interest, but to deal with them in this place would need too full a treatment. It may be several years before the Lectionary is fully worked out. At the same time, a simpler Lectionary for village congregations will be under consideration by yet another Committee.

In the first Draft of the Book of Common Prayer in 1951, a good deal of material was included which it was not expected would find its place in the Book as finally presented to the General Council. This consisted of a number of Collects, Epistles and Gospels for Weekdays in Lent, and Easter Week, and Whitsun Week, and for Black-letter festivals, and also a list of notable Christians associated with India, and a further set of propers for the occasions of their commemorations. All this material has now gone into a Supplement which occupied the Liturgical Committee in 1959. In the Supplement there will also be a number of alternative, or rather additional permissive forms to go with the forms in the Prayer Book, such as special ceremonies at Baptism and Confirmation and also at Ordination. There are also forms for Blessings at certain festivals, or solemn days in the year, such as the Blessing of the Candles for February the 2nd, the Blessing of Ashes for Ash Wednesday, and the Blessing of Palms on Palm Sunday. This kind of provision is very necessary in India, where those who have come into the Christian faith from other backgrounds are accustomed to a good deal of colourful ceremonial in the practice of their religion. It is good, therefore, to make available traditional Christian ceremonial of this kind.

The Supplement will also contain quite a number of other forms, both to be used with the Prayer Book and on other common occasions. Amongst the former, there is provision for Holy Communion with the Reserved Sacrament for those who are unable to be present at the Lord's Supper in Church, either by reason of sickness or other cause. In the latter, there is a form for the Introduction of a Priest to the Pastoral Charge, ending on the note of Witness, and a Blessing of a Village Chapel with a good deal of opportunity for simple congregations to join in with responses. There is also a Service for National Occasions. Besides these, there is a further collection of Devotions of various kinds which for the same reason as the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings in the Prayer Book itself is fuller than usual. The Book of Common Prayer and the Supplement will, for many Clergy, provide almost the only available material for the devotional guidance of their flocks.

Some may be disappointed that there does not appear very much in either the Book of Common Prayer or the Supplement which could be considered peculiar to India. It is true that the Supplement will contain the Liturgy for India, first published in 1923, and revised from time to time. The Indian contribution will come more in the music and singing according to Indian modes and various ceremonial and customs which are on the periphery of the Liturgy rather than in the actual forms themselves, though here and there, as in the provision of a necklet instead of a ring in the Marriage Service, there are customs peculiar to India.

There is no doubt that these ten years or so of intensive preparation of the Book has meant a very widespread interest in Common Worship in many parts of the Province, and has quickened an interest in seeing that it is suited to the people. Even before the Prayer Book began to be brought into shape, quite a number of modifications of the Book of Common Prayer had been allowed by the Episcopal Synod. These especially concerned the Holy Communion. One, allowing for the Prayer of Oblation to follow the Prayer of Consecration with an anamnesis

between them, and followed by a Pax and the Agnus Dei, was very widely used in some parts of the Province, and has been permitted to continue until the Book of Common Prayer itself gets fully into the hands of the people. This has meant that the shape of the Liturgy of 1960 is already largely familiar to many people.

It will be seen clearly enough that the Book has owed a great deal to revisions in other parts of Anglican Communion, and also to scholars outside India. For the major part of its preparation, we had the good fortune to possess a fine liturgical scholar in India itself. This was Bishop Noel Hall, then of Chota Nagpur. To him and others who have given time and devotion to the work the Province owes a considerable debt.

NANDYAL TODAY

THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM ARTHUR PARTRIDGE

Assistant Bishop of Calcutta for Work in Nandyal

AT its meeting in Calcutta in January 1960 the General Council of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon gave the first reading to a proposal to set up a C.I.P.B.C. Diocese of Nandyal. This proposal had for some time been in the minds of those concerned with the situation which has existed in Nandyal since 1947. Because of the reference to Nandyal in the Report of the Committee on Unity of the Lambeth Conference of 1948 (with which the Conference as a whole expressed its concurrence in Resolution 55) reaffirming "the decision expressed by the Lambeth Conference in 1930 that no Church of the Anglican Communion will set up dioceses or congregations in the area of the Church of South India," it was felt that Provincial action should not be taken till further advice from the Lambeth Conference of 1958 had been obtained. This advice was duly given in Resolution 19, by which the Conference agreed that, notwithstanding the recommendations of the Lambeth Conferences of 1930 and 1948, "the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon should be left free to make the arrangements which seem best to that church for the spiritual oversight of Christians in the Nandyal area, after consulting the Church of South India and with the good will of that church, bearing in mind that the union of Christians in that area is the ultimate aim." The good will of the Church of South India for the proposal having been expressed by the Executive Committee of its Synod, first reading was given to the proposal for the setting up of a Diocese of Nandyal. This means that if the second reading is passed at the next session of the General Council, the new diocese may be inaugurated in 1963. It is possible that the same session of the General Council may give final approval to the Plan of Church Union in North India and Pakistan; and this makes the present time opportune for the consideration of Nandyal, in its relations to C.I.P.B.C., C.S.I. and to the proposed Church of North India.

But first it is necessary to know something of Nandyal itself, the more so since references to Nandyal in 1948 and 1949, when feelings ran particularly high, were often marked by a lack of realism and by a failure to appreciate the geographical, economic and historic factors which have contributed to the Nandyal problem. From the point of view of Indian Local Government, Nandyal is a Taluk, with its headquarters in the town of that name, in the district of Kurnool. What is informally known as the "Nandyal area", and which will, it is hoped, become the Diocese of Nandyal covers Anglican work in four districts, in an area approximately 120 miles from North to South, and 300 from East to West. There are few large towns in this area, and most of the 37,000 Anglican Christians

live in villages within seventy miles of Nandyal. Politically, the area is in the Telugu-speaking state of Andhra Pradesh: in the days of the British Raj it was on the outskirts of Madras Presidency bordering the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Within the area there is a certain amount of irrigated land, ranges of hills, some bare and stony, others covered with Government forests and vast areas of land, varying from fertile to rocky, which depend on the somewhat unpredictable rainfall of the monsoons. For the most part the people depend for a livelihood on the land; either owning it or (in the case of most Christians) providing casual labour for those who do. There are some tribes in the hills—Sugalis who keep cattle and Chenchus who are hunters.

Within this area the main crops are rice (where there is sufficient water), cholan and other grains grown under "dry" cultivation, cotton, groundnuts and tobacco. Such industries as there are, are connected with the preparation of these products for the market—as by extracting the oil from groundnuts to make cooking fat—or for further manufacturing processes in larger towns—as curing tobacco leaves, or compressing and baling cotton for transit to the mills. Community development schemes under the Five Year Plans worked out by the Central Government, are making their mark on the countryside, and electrification and irrigation schemes are also in evidence.

Within this geographical and economic setting the Christian Church has been at work for something over a hundred years. Apart from the chaplains of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment, whose work at Cyddapah and Kurnool was instrumental in the founding of the Christian Church in this part of the Telegu country, three missionary societies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the London Missionary Society, and the American Baptist Missionary Society, have done most in building up the Church. Roman Catholic mission stations, marked by imposing churches and attractive presbyteries, are found here and there, but Roman Catholics are not nearly so strong here as they are in other parts of India, where they represent more than half of the total Christian population. All Christian bodies working in this area have made use of village schools to organize and strengthen church life. In the early days of the mission, when Government welcomed the contribution which the mission could make to village education, when grant in aid was readily forthcoming and when the management was given wide powers of control and discretion in running its schools this policy was very attractive. It made it possible to place in many villages a "mission agent" whose salary was largely if not entirely met by Government grant. The mission secured much influence in the village: Christian children had an opportunity of receiving instruction, both religious and secular, and for educated Christian boys and girls the mission schools (via the Government-assisted Mission Teachers' Training School), provided opportunities of congenial employment. A number of factors gradually arose to destroy this idyllic arrangement. One was staffing these schools. As the village schools grew in number, there was no difficulty in finding teachers educationally and professionally qualified to work them, but as years went by it became abundantly clear that of the many "mission agents" scattered among the villages, only a few had

any real vocation to pastoral service in the village congregations. More insidious was the temptation to which the system exposed the senior clergy who, by virtue of their "decanal" supervision over a number of pastorates, appointed, paid, transferred and dismissed these teachers. Only too often it came about that motivating power among the workers in a deanery was not a spiritual power at all, but the secular authority vesting in a deanery chairman as a manager of schools. A third factor was the gradual assumption by Government of a greater and greater degree of control, at the expense of that exercised by the management, so that it became virtually impossible to deal with a teacher, however undesirable his conduct might be from the standpoint of the Church, as long as he avoided the few specified offences which are cognizable under the Educational Rules of the State. Because of all these factors a number of Christian bodies (though not all) have welcomed the recent action by Government in taking over the management of most of the "aided" elementary schools in the State.

Now we must look at the Christian community, and particularly at the Anglican community, which has grown up against this background. It is a community to which St. Paul's words to the Corinthians are applicable—"You don't see . . . many of the wise (according to this world's judgment) nor many of the ruling class, nor many from the noblest families."* Almost in its entirety, the response to the preaching of the Gospel has been among the landless labourers, the weavers and leather workers, known in olden days as outcastes, and in modern India as Harijans—"People of God"—the term found for them by Mahatma Gandhi. Among the 37,000 Anglicans in Nandyal the great majority are illiterate. Some among them have been to village schools, since the adult Christians are for the most part the sons (sometimes the grandsons) of converts: but it is often found that five years at a village school has not made people permanently literate because of the lack of suitable literature to keep them in practice. Consequently one pastoral problem is to find a village Christian who will read prayers in the village chapel between the monthly (or sometimes even less frequent) visits of the Pastor. Of the educated Christians, a very high proportion have tended to remain in "mission" service, and the desire to work "in the mission" (which may be so very different from a vocation to Christian service), has had its inevitable effect on the life of the Church. Another consequence has been a great dearth of Christians in Government service, industry or commerce, who might be available to contribute from an independent "frontier" standpoint to the Councils of the Church.

It was upon such a community that the events of 1947 came. Until then the territory now known as Nandyal area was an Archdeaconry of the Diocese of Dornakal in the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. Nandyal Archdeaconry had been the area in which S.P.G. worked, and its Anglican population was about 50,000. It was expected and desired by many that Nandyal Archdeaconry, with the rest of the Diocese of Dornakal, would go into the Church of South India. For various reasons, which are discussed below, this did not happen. The Anglican population divided:

* I Cor. 1, 26—J. B. Phillips' translation.

some 15,000 going into the Church of South India, and the rest remaining Anglican. The division ran in a most extraordinary way. Some pastorates went entirely to C.S.I.: some remained completely Anglican. In many congregations a division occurred—some families joining C.S.I., some remaining Anglican. In some cases the division ran through the family: as in a family where the son became a presbyter of C.S.I. while the father continued to serve as an Anglican priest. As a result, Nandyal has never been, as some have supposed, an Anglican enclave in the area of C.S.I. Had that been the case, the course of events here would have been simpler to deal with and more pleasant to read about. As it fell out, the theological issues, which very few in Nandyal are able to understand, have served to lend a cloak of respectability to all manner of feuds, old and new, with which the life of the Church has been disrupted by ambition and by the mentality which, preferring to fish in troubled waters, welcomes any relaxation of discipline and good order.

In 1948 the Nandyal Anglicans were put under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan-Bishop of Calcutta, whose successive Commissaries have had the task of restoring order, rebuilding discipline, and shepherding their people in the ways of historic Anglicanism, as distinct from the narrowly polemic Anglicanism which the circumstances of 1947 and 1948 for a while forced on the Nandyal Church, against the natural tendencies of its people and the real inner dispositions of a number of its leaders. In the course of this work there has been much soul-searching and painful stripping down of facades to arrive at the truth about ourselves. Clergy and laity have to re-learn what it means to belong to a church whose God is not a God of confusion, but of order and peace. Strong measures have to be taken with institutions which have lost their sense of Christian purpose. Representative committees and councils have to be rebuilt to give a broader basis to the administration of the Church. Chronic overspending has had to be tackled. Now the inner life of the Church is beginning to recover from the shocks of 1947, and this recovery is reflected in a 250 per cent increase in local giving over what it was six years ago. From a position when C.I.P.B.C. and C.S.I. faced one another in Nandyal, in a profound suspicion breaking out in isolated instances of physical violence and of litigation, and C.I.P.B.C. hardly knew what to do about Nandyal, we have reached the position where C.I.P.B.C. has taken the first step to organize the Nandyal Anglicans into a Diocese, while C.S.I. has expressed its goodwill for this measure of spiritual provision for them.

But where does this leave us with regard to that union among the Christians of Nandyal area which Lambeth Conference of 1958 stipulated as the "ultimate aim" of C.I.P.B.C. in the action which it was to be at liberty to take? To answer this question we must ask two others—what were the reasons which kept the 35,000 or so Nandyal Anglicans from entering the Church of South India in 1947, and are these reasons still valid thirteen years later? In 1947 it was not only in Nandyal that Anglicans were disquieted concerning the Church of South India. There was widespread questioning, vividly illustrated in succeeding years by the division of opinion among the Bishops at the 1948 Lambeth Conference, and by the inability of the Convocations of Canterbury and York to

define their relationships with the Church of South India in 1950. There was a tendency in some quarters to see what was happening in Nandyal as black or white—to some the situation appeared as the heroic stand of those who loved and understood their Anglican faith against the dangers of a Pan-Protestant merger: to others it seemed to turn entirely on a local family feud or on the fear of losing S.P.G. grants. But a movement involving so many thousands of Christians cannot be so radically simplified. The truth is, that both these attitudes entered into the situation, and others besides. To different people different aspects of the matter presented an appeal. Those for whom the theological issues had any meaning were naturally few. Those who feared the loss of grants were not always selfish in their attitude. Those who were moved by considerations of family rivalry often presented the matter in a different guise—for instance, that to join C.S.I. would be disloyal to S.P.G., which had worked for nearly a hundred years in Nandyal, and whose May 1947 decisions, with their delicate balances and safeguards, were sometimes presented here in a summary form which did them less than justice. So a situation arose in which a congregation in a remote village, with twenty families in C.S.I. twenty-one in C.I.P.B.C. will say to the Bishop—“Before 1947 we were one. Now we are divided, and we do not know why.”

In actual fact, though in the early years there were bitter passages between C.I.P.B.C. and C.S.I. groups using the same place of worship, there have been some groups which have insisted on worshipping together. They have called themselves C.I.P.B.C. (or as the local perversion has it, “S.P.G.”) and C.S.I.: but at harvest festival time they have insisted on fixing a date for which both pastors could be present. In some cases they have jointly built new chapels, getting small grants from each church, but raising at least four-fifths of the money themselves, and for the dedication service getting dignitaries from C.I.P.B.C. and C.S.I. In such congregations there is hope of better things.

But when? If we take the situation at its highest, and conceive a solution in theological terms, then clearly nothing can be done till the thirty-year period has elapsed from the inauguration of C.S.I., and that church has defined the conditions under which it will admit non-episcopally ordained ministers to its service. Then the Nandyal Anglicans will have another lead from the decisions which various provinces of the Anglican Communion can then be expected to take regarding their relationships with C.S.I. If we put the matter at its lowest, and interpret what has happened in terms of a family feud, we must allow sufficient time to pass for the scene to be freed of those who have been most bitterly embroiled. From either point of view, thirty years—nearly a generation—from the time of the inauguration, suggests itself as the time that may be required. But because the actual situation is far more complex than permits of its being reduced to these two factors, it may be transformed in a shorter time than they would need to be effective, as the truth of the matter makes itself more and more clearly known to those who are divided and cannot say why.

Meanwhile, things do not stand still outside Nandyal, and already the General Council has given general approval to a Plan of Church Union

in North India and Pakistan; and, if final approval is given by the General Council in about three years' time, the Province of the Anglican Communion of which Nandyal forms a part will cease to exist. What is the position of Nandyal in face of this? The General Council has given an assurance that the opinion expressed by the Provisional Council of the Proposed Diocese will be taken into consideration with those expressed by the Councils of the Missionary Dioceses, which do not count towards the number whose approval is required for a plan of union to be given its second reading. There is one great difference from the Nandyal point of view between the North India and South India schemes. In the former, the ministry will be unified from the beginning, and it is hoped that the way of doing this now proposed will make it possible for the Provinces of the Anglican Communion to be in relationships of full communion with the new church from its inauguration. Thus it would be logical for Nandyal Anglicans who did not enter C.S.I. to find their way into the proposed church of North India. This can only be, however, by a process of reasoning which will not readily be appreciated by many (especially by non-Anglicans) in both South and North. Relationships of full communion are hoped for from the start between C.N.I. and C.S.I., and there are serious practical difficulties, which have not yet been thrashed out, in the existence in South India of a diocese of C.N.I. which does not practice the relationships of communion with C.S.I. established by the Church of which it is a part.

What, then, is finally to be said regarding Nandyal? The division of the former Anglicans in this area was easily accomplished—divisive tendencies here are widespread and attach themselves easily to all kinds of causes. The healing of this division can only be by the work of the Holy Spirit. It may take years. It can be expected that it will involve the exposure and setting right of those hidden weaknesses which underlay the course of events in 1947. It may be that the Church will ultimately be stronger and healthier for what has taken place. But an essential stage in that process is the organization of the Nandyal Anglicans into a Diocese, in order that they may have the means whereby they may express themselves in decisions which can be expected to be binding on the whole body. The first step in that direction has been taken; and the fact that it has been possible to take it is a measure of the progress which has been achieved. This is the easier part. The organization is being built up; the instrument prepared. The next stage is to wait for God to use it for His purposes for the healing of the breaches in His Church in Nandyal.

WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN

CANON J. J. HAY

ABOUT twelve years ago, when 492 immigrants from the West Indies arrived in this country to seek employment, the writing of a new chapter in its history was begun. Since then they have come over in much larger numbers and at present approximately 140,000 are to be found scattered over the country; especially in such industrial areas as London, Birmingham, Manchester, Nottingham, Coventry, Leeds, Sheffield, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Reading, Wolverhampton and Peterborough. The peak was in 1956 when 26,400 arrived. There is the likelihood however, that this record will be broken this year. At first those who came over were chiefly men, but over the past six years the women and children have outnumbered the men. This is due to the fact that many of the men who have settled down have sent for their fiancées or their wives and children.

"Why are they coming over in such large numbers"?

"Why are they leaving the warmth and sunshine of their homeland for the severity of the English climate?"

These are questions that are frequently asked. The answer is, that they are coming over to find the social and economic security which they cannot find at home. Their ancestors were freed from slavery in 1838, and although the slave owners were compensated by the Imperial Government to the tune of £6,000,000, nothing was done by the Government to help the freed slaves to live decently. In Jamaica, Baptist Missionaries helped a small number to settle on the land. They would have assisted a larger number but the funds at their disposal did not enable them to do so. The grinding poverty and the resultant misery which the majority experienced, have been the experience of most of the descendants down the years.

Contrary to what some people think, the average West Indian is not a happy-go-lucky person who is satisfied to live in a miserable shack or under a tree, to wear rags, eat the poorest kind of food and be wrapped in ignorance. His ambition is to live his life on a high level materially, intellectually and spiritually. When this cannot be realized because of poverty, he becomes eager to migrate to other countries where the opportunity to earn good wages is afforded him and wherever he has gone he has established a reputation for industry, thrift, amicability and honesty. West Indian labour played a prominent part in the cutting of the Panama Canal and in the development of the banana and sugar industries in certain Central American countries and in Cuba.

Over a long period, emigration to the United States from the West

Indies was unrestricted and large numbers took advantage of that. Today large concentrations of West Indians or the descendants of West Indians are to be found in New York, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia and other parts of the United States of America. A few years ago however, when the McCarran Act was passed this door was almost completely closed.

During the Second World War many West Indians came over to this country to serve in the armed forces and as ammunition workers and factory workers. When the war ended, some remained but others returned home and gave the information that there was a great demand for workers over here and that wages were good. Thus another door to fortune was open to the West Indian and he has not been slow to enter. That his venture was worthwhile, cannot be denied. Very few have been unsuccessful in obtaining lucrative employment. The large sums sent home annually also bear eloquent testimony to his success. In 1956 over £3,000,000 was sent to Jamaica alone.

The average West Indian is not keen on leaving his homeland if it is possible for him to obtain fair wages. One with whom I discussed this matter recently, told me that as an unskilled worker he earned £10 weekly and sometimes much more when he worked overtime. He assured me, however, that if he were sure of earning £5 per week regularly at home, he would return as quickly as he could and many others would do the same.

It is a pity that no effort was made after the abolition of slavery to develop the natural resources of the West Indies to their fullest extent; thus providing gainful employment for the people. In the year 1938 in many parts of the West Indies poverty and hunger caused the people to riot. When a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Moyne went out to make investigations, they were horrified at the conditions they found. As a result of their recommendations, generous grants were given from the Colonial Government and Welfare Funds aids are still being given. As a result, conditions have improved considerably; but not enough to eradicate the deep-rooted poverty. It is regrettable that such grants were not given long before. That would have prevented the large-scale emigration to this country.

It cannot be denied, however, that apart from the benefits he has gained for himself, the West Indian has made a splendid contribution to the labour force of this country. Industry would have been greatly handicapped but for his coming. The manager of a large factory averred that without the help of coloured workers, things would have come to a standstill, and I can well imagine how concerns like the London Transport would be handicapped but for the help given by West Indian workers.

The coming of the West Indians has created certain problems and aggravated others. One such is the problem of housing. In many instances when they arrived, suitable accommodation was not available. In others, although accommodation was available there was no desire on the part of certain landlords to take coloured people as lodgers or tenants because of wrong ideas that they had about them. For instance, some believed that coloured people in general belonged to an inferior race and were not far removed from the brute creation. I have been told

over and over again by West Indians that many English people with whom they came into contact firmly believed that they had tails and it was not until they were given convincing proof that such an idea was false, that it was discarded. A West Indian woman told me that when she got her hand cut in the factory an English woman was surprised that her blood was like that of white people. Another false notion was that coloured people were not conversant with the laws of sanitation and hygiene and that to harbour them would be to encourage disease. Many have now discarded these wrong ideas and as a result the number of English landlords who are willing to open their doors to West Indians has increased, thus making the housing problem less acute.

The acquiring of houses by West Indians has also helped to improve the situation so far as housing is concerned. The fact that a good many West Indians now own houses is something that redounds to their credit and is a proof of their ability to make good use of their earnings. English people are often surprised that West Indians after a comparatively short stay over here have been able to acquire houses. They wonder how they have been able to accumulate the necessary amount of money over so short a period. These houses are hardly ever bought outright, but on mortgage. The fact remains, however, that even in such a circumstance, a fairly large sum of money is needed for the down payment and the question of how it is done is still to be answered.

The answer is that West Indians are co-operative. A number of them enter a partnership and decide to pay a certain amount into a common pool weekly. Every week the full amount contributed is handed over to one of the partners and this is continued until each partner has had his share. Often the individual uses the amount he gets to pay the down-payment on a house, and as soon as it is handed over to him, he gets tenants and so is able to pay the other instalments. It is worthy of note that in this partnership there are no written agreements. It is a fine example of mutual trust. The complaint is often made that landlords—English and West Indian—often overcharge their tenants. There may be some cases in which there are grounds for such a charge but the situation is not as bad as some believe. The landlord in most cases provides a fully furnished room, he pays for lighting and is also responsible for the payments of water rates. In addition to this, he provides bed linen and is expected to keep it clean. When these and other expenses which the landlord has to meet are taken into consideration, it is seen the charge of exploitation is often groundless.

It is often said that the houses occupied by the West Indians are often overcrowded. Here, again, the situation is not always as bad as it is made out to be. In some cases the overcrowding is due to the force of circumstances. People cannot find suitable accommodation and are compelled to be cramped in quarters until they can do better. It is in such circumstances that people are often exploited.

The fact must be faced that until there is considerable improvement in the West Indies as a whole, this country will have a large number of West Indians residing here, as there is in the United States and other countries. Apart from the far better and regular wages they receive, there are other advantages of life in this country that attract the West

Indian workers. Such outstanding features of the Welfare State as financial aid to the unemployed, old age pension and free medical treatment are matters that have received consideration in certain parts of the West Indies, but it may be a long time before they are implemented. Again the opportunities for cultural and intellectual development that are afforded the ambitious youth or adult are such as most would not enjoy at home and it is good to note that many are making good use of such opportunities. The order and discipline so evident in public life over here cannot but be of great benefit to West Indians.

I am also of the opinion that the crude attitude of many West Indians will undergo a change for the better in their new environment. In the West Indies concubinage is not regarded as seriously as it is over here and, in dealing with this matter, some are inclined to rate West Indians who indulge in this practice as people who are grossly immoral. Consideration should, however, be given to their background. It was only one hundred and twenty years ago that their ancestors were released from slavery and during those days marriage among slaves was not countenanced. Slave farming was practiced and after the examples of their owners lustfulness in the slaves was encouraged. With such a background, West Indians in the lower class, and with very little training or intelligence, have never looked at this evil from the same angle as English people.

It should be noted, however, that in the majority of cases where West Indians live in concubinage they are faithful to each other. A stranger, unless he were told to the contrary, would believe that their union had received the sanction of Church and State. The improved economic conditions under which they live over here, as well as the influence of public opinion, will certainly cause a change in their attitude in respect to this matter.

West Indians, apart from their contribution to the labour force of this country, are contributing in other ways to its well-being. Their cheerfulness, friendliness, thrift, willingness to co-operate and their simple faith in God are sterling qualities that cannot but be helpful to this country. To West Indians, the fact that people live in the same house here for many years without even knowing each others names is most surprising. The effusiveness of West Indians at times is irritating to English people but my opinion is, that a blend of their effusiveness with the reserve of some English people would be a good thing for this country.

There is a great deal to be done towards the integration of West Indians into English life. There are certain false notions on both sides that must be removed if this is to be realized. The West Indian must erase the wrong impression which he often has that every English person is his enemy and seeks only to exploit him. Every individual must be treated on his own merit, and when that is done every well-thinking West Indian will realize that there are people of the white race whose interest in him is second to none. On the other hand, English people must cease expressing opinion of coloured people which rests on no solid foundation but is purely mythical. They must extend to the West Indians and other coloured people in their midst, the fellowship extended to other white people. In their relationship with West Indians they need to forget the

colour and act on the same principle they would in dealing with white people. Several inter-racial clubs have been formed in London and elsewhere and have been most effective promoting better relationship between the races. I would like to see many more organizations of this type formed.

Above all the Church must play its part in this work of integration. I mentioned before the simple faith of West Indians in God. The great majority of the people from the West Indies are Christians. Some from British Guiana and Trinidad may be Moslems but those from the other islands are professing Christians. About 28 per cent are Anglicans and the others are Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Congregationalists, Plymouth Brethren, Seventh Day Adventists, Church of God and others. It is regrettable that those who at home were active church members have not linked with the churches in this country. The general impression is that those who came first were not welcomed in the churches they entered. I have tried very hard to find out if there is any real basis for this statement. So far I have only found one man who told me that when workers applied for membership the answers given by the vicar gave the impression they were not wanted. Many vicars in Southwark and other dioceses have been doing all they can to integrate West Indians into their parish life. The responsibility for integrating the West Indians into the life of the Church is not only the vicar's, but the members of the congregation can play a great part by giving them a hand of friendship when they do come, and inviting them when they meet casually. Atheists play a great part in keeping West Indians out of the Church. At home they have an exalted idea of Christianity in England. It was from England that Christianity was carried to the West Indies and the great majority of the Christian leaders of today are English people. The West Indians think that Christianity in England is 100 per cent and when he finds things to the contrary he is greatly disillusioned. He gets a terrible shock if he finds that the public house on the Lord's Day is better attended than the House of God. I must say, however, that many devoted church goers at home are so bent on making money and so taken up with other worldly attractions in this country that they have not time to devote to God and His worship.

Some years ago when the Bishop of Jamaica, the Rt. Rev. P. W. Gibson, D.D., heard that the majority of the West Indians over here were outside of the fellowship of the Church he was greatly concerned and in 1958 he sent over the Rev. Ronald M. Campbell to work among them. The venture was sponsored by the Church in Jamaica. After having worked for one year he returned home for domestic reasons, and I came over in September 1959 to succeed him. I however, am in a different position to the Rev. Mr. Campbell in that whereas he was maintained by the Church in Jamaica, the Church in England is solely responsible for my maintenance. The Diocese of Southwark provides my residence and pays travelling expenses incurred in the performance of my priestly duties within its confines, and the Diocese of London pays my stipend and my travelling expenses within its confines. The Bishop of Jamaica sent me over for a period of three years, but said if I so desired at the expiration of that time, I could remain for two years more. My

duty is chiefly to work for the West Indians integration into the life of the Church and to that end I preach in churches, give lectures, and visit as many of them in their homes as I possibly can. I also go outside of the London area whenever I can. My task is colossal and I realize that I am touching only the fringe of it. Success in it will depend to a great extent on the co-operation that I receive from the clergy in the areas in which West Indians live. Many have already given such co-operation and I am deeply grateful for that and earnestly hope that many more, as time goes on, will manifest a whole-hearted interest in the furtherance of this important task.

Finally let me exhort the readers of this article to pray that we may daily discover new methods whereby the English people and the West Indian immigrants may work together for the extension of God's Kingdom in England and in all the world.

THE CHALLENGE OF STEWARDSHIP

THE RT. REV. IAN SHEVILL
Bishop of North Queensland

“**E**NGLAND gave us the faith but America gave us the works” is a cliché which might describe the situation in many parts of the Anglican Communion today.

It was particularly noticeable at the Lambeth Conference that missionary dioceses of English descent and leadership were facing innumerable problems which had their root in penury, whilst those of American and sometimes Colonial descent were developing and rejoicing in increased self support.

The English missions were still clinging to the idea that they were to be supported from “home” by a church whose parochial economic structure has given concern to overseas observers since the Pan Anglican Conference of 1908. Their leaders believed that “money” was not quite a clean word and that it had no fundamental place in theology.

Here, I believe, the English church has unintentionally betrayed its branches overseas. Men of the finest calibre have been sent abroad, all the riches of an historic and catholic faith have been bestowed upon the world, Dioceses have increased at the rate of two a year over the past century, but—money has not been regarded as a sacramental thing, as crystallized life to be offered to God. It has been regarded as the concomitant of trade, not quite gentlemanly, not quite mentionable.

The teaching of Our Lord and the Fathers on the subject have been ignored, and the teaching of an incomplete gospel has led many an overseas diocese perilously near the brink of bankruptcy.

WHY THIS DILEMMA?

The reasons for this lie deep in our Anglican heritage.

It might broadly be said that things went wrong at the Reformation, for until that time the church had built up a strong economic structure. After the Reformation, however, our economic structure was one of almost Heath Robinson improvisation, and it was from the post-Reformation church that the gospel has spread during the past 250 years of history.

This has profoundly affected our Anglican attitude, and today we think “The church has certain needs, and therefore we must ask for money, but to make it look respectable, we shall cover it with such a text as ‘The Lord loveth a cheerful giver’”.

This is a completely wrong view, for a study of Our Lord’s teaching, the apostles and the Fathers shows that a Christian, for his happiness here and his soul’s health hereafter, must give purposefully, punctually and

to plan, and if the church does happen to benefit, this is a by-product of right teaching.

There is not a word in the gospel story about Our Lord's earnings or spendings, there is no treasurer's report, and yet, realist as He was, there is scarcely any subject to which He made more frequent reference.

Our Lord commended those who did better than tithe and nowhere said "abandon money", but rather "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will entrust you with the true riches?"

He sought to lead men to understand that money must be the servant and not the master. The test of a man being not how much he makes, but how much he makes of his money, for by being faithful stewards we train ourselves for the true riches.

Stewardship was a conception of which the Fathers were particularly fond. Ignatius speaks of "Christ being conceived by Mary according to the Stewardship of God". Clement of Alexandria produced his tract on "Almsgiving and the right use of money". Justin Martyr and Cyprian both dealt widely with the subject, and the tithe taken over from the older Jewish faith provided a standard basis for Christian giving. Between these early days and the Reformation, the Church continued its clear teaching on the right use of money and a sound economic structure emerged.

When Augustine sailed for England, Gregory wrote to him: "It is the custom of the Apostolic See to deliver an injunction to bishops when ordained, that, of all the emoluments that come in, four divisions should be made; to wit, one for the Bishop and his household on account of hospitality and entertainment, another for the clergy, a third for the poor, and a fourth for the restoration of churches". The priests brought by Augustine stepped easily into the shoes of their pagan predecessors who had received a double share in the village lands. A Christian rather than a pagan priest was nominated by the Thane, and here we find an origin of Glebe lands and patronage. In this pre-Reformation period, the Tithe was paid on produce, merchandise and workmanship; Glebe land was provided for each priest and the parish was endowed with flocks and herds for capital upkeep. Peter's Pence, Maypole dances and Church Ales all helped and Diocesan financial structures blue-printed in Rome were all quite clear-cut.

The average Englishman resented the exactions of his church, and this is one of the often overlooked causes of the Reformation, but the alternative was chaos. The Reformation brought a great decay in almsgiving, a fact which Latimer deploras in his "Sermon of the Plough", as does Jeremy Taylor in "Holy Living", and as does the homily "On Almsgiving". People who had seen church property confiscated were unwilling to leave money in their wills, and the legislation of the period shows the mounting concern of both church and state about the dilemma.

In 1547, the curate was ordered to instruct the people on Almsgiving every Sunday after the gospel; 1551 brought two collections at each service; 1563 saw legislation imposing grave penalties for those who did not pay their dues, and finally in 1601, the Poor Law brought its own drastic solution.

The various Prayer Books give an index to the mounting concern.

1549 ordered an Anthem to be sung whilst the collection took place. 1552 ordered the curate "urgently to exhort" the faithful on the subject. 1662 saw the appearance of the decent basin, which Bishop Andrewes condemned as a "Genevan custom".

The struggle out of this confusion is marked by three developments in the history of church finance. First the establishment of Queen Anne's bounty, then the setting up of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and finally the abolition of the compulsory church rate, but all these things took place at a top level and in no way affected the thinking at the parish level.

When the English Church became caught up in the world-wide movement for evangelism, it was completely unprepared for its economic implications. The English missionaries who went forth to conquer new lands were inheritors of an endowed tradition completely unprepared for the problems of planting the church in a country where no endowments existed. For a century they clung to the genteel patterns of the past, the Vicar's Garden Party, and the Parish Bazaar being the sources of income.

Basic to their thinking was a dichotomy between spiritual and material things which was completely false to the teaching of Our Lord and His church and which led to penury, clerical poverty and the wrecking of many ministries.

The position became so grave in many parts of the world that government action was necessary. In New South Wales, the Legislative Assembly set up a commission to investigate the poverty of the clergy, to which incumbents gave grim testimony. "Does nobody of substance assist the church in your parish?" "Not even a handful of oats has been given to me for my horse". "Would you consider returning to England?" "Immediately if I could but afford it" were some of the comments.

TODAY

It was America which first awoke to the two basic needs:

- (a) A rethinking of our theology about money, and
- (b) An efficient organization to handle the economics of the church at every level, parochial, diocesan and national.

This awakening was not caused by any peculiar virtue of the American Episcopalians, but was brought about because the Episcopalians were a minority church surrounded by much bigger protestant bodies who, having no inhibitions about the subject, were prospering greatly. The Episcopal Church has also attracted a great number of converts from other communions, and as many entered the ministry, they brought with them a new theological and organizational approach to finance. From America it spread to Canada and South Africa and Australia, and from Australia it has spread up into Malaya and other parts of the mission field.

Although the church must be very grateful for the entry of various professional fund-raising bodies into the field, and although it may be necessary for perhaps the next twenty years to employ them in order to

overcome the tremendous back-lag of wrong thinking and organizational laxity, it is believed that ultimately this whole programme must be under the control of the church itself.

National Promotion Departments have been established in America, Canada and Australia, whose purpose it is to provide the materials and training in techniques to Diocesan Departments. The Diocesan Departments then have the task of helping every parish to use them, and helping them to accept the fact that Fund Raising and Stewardship teaching are not gimmicks but the gospel.

Basic to the Theology of the movement is the realization that everything comes from God; that God loans us our health, strength, mind, body and wealth; that God expects a carefully thought out proportion of this to be returned to Him for His purposes; that you do not tip the Almighty like a waiter; that the proportion in Bible times was a tenth, but that today this proportion can be interpreted in various ways; that just as a man is only married when he is in the right economic relationship with his wife, so a man is only a Christian when he is in the right economic relationship with his God.

Basic to the organization of the movement is the fact that every christian has a right to be challenged by a fellow churchman about his giving; that God must have a place in the household budget; that good housekeeping demands that the parish too must have a budget; that stewardship does not stop with the individual, but moves on to the parish, diocese, nation and mission field. To achieve these ends, legitimate psychological pressures may be employed, and the techniques perfected in the service of commerce may be redeemed by their employment in the service of God.

May it be finally suggested that the missionary societies, who are tremendously concerned in this whole matter, may find a new vocation in serving the church at home by developing stewardship so that indirectly the church abroad may prosper. Very few organizations in the church at home are so well equipped to deal effectively with this challenge, and if taken up now, the societies would cease to be tax collectors and change their role to that of inspirers of new hope, faith and service.

It was St. Paul who reminded us that "He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver."

EDITORIAL

Mankind is on the move, geographically as well as in the realms of ideas and economics, and mobility of population is facing the Church with acute problems in many parts of the world. The people move from rural area to the town, from the city to the suburb, from the suburb back to mammoth blocks of flats back in the city. Urbanisation spreads into country districts. Industrialisation brings millions into what were formerly sparsely populated agricultural regions. Churches, schools and hospitals may become almost redundant in one area and urgently needed in another to which the population has moved. The Church's use of its institutions, its deployment of manpower, its development of right methods of evangelism—all need to be under constant review, and not least by the Church in the City. As Bishop Stephen Neill reminds us in *The Unfinished Task*, "At the beginning of this century there were, I believe, only seven cities with over a million inhabitants; today there are fifty-three (including such unexpected places as Seoul in Korea), and twenty-three others are rapidly approaching the million mark." In this number of the *East and West Review* we present a study of one particular aspect of the mission of the Church in the City, that of the "Downtown Church". It was examined in detail at a conference in Toronto, sponsored by the Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church of Canada. The report naturally reflects mainly the Canadian and American experience of this situation but this account, for which we are indebted to the Reverend C. James Fisk, contains much that is relevant to the Church's task in the cities of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia.

Before leaving for Wellington, New Zealand, the former Bishop of Singapore, the Right Reverend H. W. Baines, wrote this most interesting report on developments in Singapore and Malaya during his Episcopate. It includes an account of the contribution of the ex-China missionaries and an assessment of the challenge presented by the Chinese Dispersion, together with an encouraging report on the achievements in the field of theological training. But Bishop Baines also indicates how the comprehensiveness of Anglicanism has brought 'tension as well as enrichment' to his diocese, and how its mission needs a greater measure of unity and uniformity. As the Bishop says, "These are questions which might be usefully asked in the older provinces of the Anglican Communion. They demand attention in the younger. Nobody seriously believes nowadays that variety of symbol, ceremonial or outward devotion helps the congregation or the individual."

In this issue, the Archdeacon of Cape Town gives a brief and helpful assessment of the situation in South Africa. Since Archdeacon Wood wrote, in August, it has been announced that the World Council of Churches is convening in December a consultation of its eight member churches in the Union of South Africa "to discuss relations with each other and with the Council and seek a factual understanding of the basic

situation and of our understanding of the meaning of the gospel for relations between the races."

Finally, the Reverend David M. Paton reviews Yorke Allen's *Seminary Survey* and discusses theological training in the younger Churches.

Since our last number the new Province of East Africa has been constituted and the Most Reverend Leonard Beecher installed as Archbishop. The new Province was admitted as a member Church of the World Council of Churches when the Central Committee of the W.C.C. met at St. Andrews in Scotland from August 16th to 24th. This was the last member of this ninety-member policy-making Committee before the third World Assembly of the W.C.C. which is to be held in November next year at New Delhi. The Central Committee will recommend to the Assembly a revised statement of the basis for W.C.C. membership. At present membership is based on acceptance of "Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour". The new statement declares:—"The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

Suggestions for a change, asking for mention of the Scriptures, came initially from the Church of Norway. Requests for changes also came later from the Orthodox churches and others, who asked that the criterion for membership should be brought more explicitly into line with the doctrine of the Trinity. A statement accompanying the proposed change noted that the basis of the World Council "has never been thought of as a creed, nor as offering a full statement of the Christian faith." It describes it as "functional" with its only purpose as saying "what holds us together in the World Council, what is the starting point of our conversation and the foundation of our collaboration."

It was reported that the Administrative Committee of the International Missionary Council has unanimously adopted the proposal for integration with the W.C.C. Final integration is expected to take place at the opening session of the Third Assembly. Religious liberty was another main topic on the agenda and two long reports have been prepared by different commissions. A proposed statement on the family and planned parenthood came in for considerable and lively discussion in the course of which it was apparent that the Orthodox delegates did not share the views of many of the other Churches on this matter. Approval was given to an extensive programme of Christian assistance to areas of acute human need. This will include the development of comprehensive demonstration projects in carefully chosen areas, the extension of the material aid programme with a view to providing resources until the projects get under way, and the recruitment and training of Christian men and women with technical competence to serve in these areas.

(EDITORIAL *continued on page 128*)

THE CHURCH IN THE INNER CITY

BY THE REVEREND C. JAMES FISK*

CANADA is experiencing, like many parts of the world, a fantastic growth in urbanization and industrialization. It has taken just three decades for this country to move from a predominantly rural society to an urban-industrial society. The towns and cities of Canada have grown at an enormous rate. Areas surrounding our cities which were once farm-land, are now taken over by sprawling housing developments. The attendant problems associated with such rapid growth are increasingly difficult to overcome, e.g. transportation, and the fact that many men are absent from their families except for a very few hours of the day, etc.

Not all the effects of industrialization have been adverse to the cultural life of Canada. The standard of living has risen to one of the highest in the world. People are living longer, and by and large, enjoying more productive lives than heretofore. Almost everywhere there is the look of prosperity and the feeling of confidence in the future.

However, all is not rosy. Although the Churches have experienced in the last while, unprecedented interest especially in suburban developments, it is by no means clear that this is an indication that the Church is making a significant and meaningful impact upon our society. In fact, the converse of this would seem to be nearer the truth; that in spite of this great activity, the Church is having less and less to do with the workaday world, with man at his work and place of business. It seems quite appropriate to ask to what extent the Church is influencing the fields of advertising, entertainment, TV, business practices, is ministering to the relief of poverty, emotional distress and sickness. At one time in history, the Church was a leader in these fields but now it is true to say that the new knowledge gained through scientific research has been the leader when it comes to the mentally-ill, providing food for the hungry and raising the standard of living.

The Church has been significantly absent from the real issues of the day, labour-management difficulties, the problems of the cold war, the ethical difficulties associated with nuclear physics, and the effects of increasing automation upon the lives of the industrial worker. In spite of these many difficulties affecting the very existence in civilization, when the world has been crying for demonstration of salvation, the Church in many cases has been silent. And yet the Church can never remain silent as long as she is the permeating force of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ.

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Of real concern at this time is the plight of the Church in the Downtown Area. Here, in spite of the budding suburban developments just ripe for the unifying force of the Church, and in spite of great church extension programmes, the building of new Church buildings and recreational facilities, the Church in the Downtown Area is in a tragic situation. Once great churches are now half-filled at best. Their fabric is decaying. They no longer minister to the needs of the people in the area and if it were not for the faithful alumni who often travel from great distances, and at times support sacrificially the existence of the Church building, the doors could not stay open. Actually, in most cities there are more people living in the downtown parishes than ever before.

The first concern of any parish is to minister to those within the parish bounds. For the church downtown, this often means reaching out to people who see practically no connection between contemporary church life and their own particular situation and who, by and large, exhibit little desire to investigate the claims of the church. This is not an easy task and it is one which requires a great deal of imagination, courage, boldness and resources. But if the church is to do her job, the job for which she was brought into being, if the Incarnation and Atonement are to be taken seriously, then she must of necessity make a significant impact upon the social and religious outlook of the people in the neighbourhood.

It was concern for the church in the Inner City, its plight, and particularly its mission which prompted the holding of a National Conference on the Church in the Downtown Areas in Toronto. This Conference sponsored by the Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church of Canada, and attended by 40 delegates from across Canada, was called for several reasons.

First, the Council for Social Service was anxious to have advice from Canadian clergy who have special experience and knowledge in this field as to what it ought to be doing to support and undergird the downtown church work of dioceses and individual parishes. Secondly, such a meeting provided an opportunity to learn about research and experimental work in the downtown areas in the United States and also in Canadian parishes. Thirdly, the Conference was designed to help those who are faced with the particular problems of the downtown parish to discuss these with others and to receive inspiration and practical help.

CHRIST'S CONCERN

Bishop Reed, one of four Bishops attending, in his meditation, at the opening Service of the Conference, recalled our Lord's concern for the city, and indeed, the concern with urban life which characterizes the whole of the New Testament. "Our Lord wept over the City because he saw what it might have been." The Bishop stated that God builds supernatural virtues on natural virtues, and reminded the Conference that the message of the Incarnation was not one of escape from city life, but rather of involvement in society by which, through the power of God, urban culture could be redeemed and the City of God built.

STRUCTURE OF THE INNER CITY

The Rev. Dr. W. E. Mann, a Sociologist from Toronto, described the specific character of the Inner City as one of permanent instability and transition. Everything, he said, including land use, use of residences, clubs, Churches and restaurants is in a state of transition. Those who have the aspiration and the intellectual capacity tend to move out from the downtown area towards the suburbs. Also each wave of immigration leaves behind its weak members. Thus the Inner City becomes characterized by a high proportion of unmarried males, great concentration of roomers, tremendous population mobility, concentration of sects, crime, vice, schizophrenia, mental defectives, etc.

Dr. Mann stated that the Inner City has its own peculiar structure. Surrounding a central business core, one can note zones of (a) great residential deterioration and instability, the "slum", (b) an area of boarding house concentration, (c) expensive apartments, (d) bohemianism, and (e) concentrations of new Canadians in ethnic colonies. He pointed out that the main traffic arteries tend to become boundaries for such zones. However, the character of the Inner City is also intimately related to the whole social life of the surrounding city. Certain activities, e.g. prostitution and certain immoral institutions, while socially conditioned, tend to become spatially segregated in the downtown area thus enabling the wealthier areas to maintain a façade of respectability.

The Anglican Church of Canada, he said, has made only partial haphazard and inadequate adjustments to the new situation of the Inner City with the result that downtown parishes now face dwindling congregations and resources. Dr. Mann felt that the Church might well use certain insights from sociological studies of the Inner City as tools in her work. Inasmuch as each city's history and population is different, effective understanding of a parish first necessitates a sociological survey. It was important, he said, that the social centres of the area be determined and that house visits be made to ascertain living conditions. This would give some indication of the job which needs to be done and of the resources available. A definite programme to meet the particular needs of the area, e.g. children, the aged, etc., could then be initiated. Preserving the natural groupings of the people in the Church's programme is necessary if the Church is to communicate to these people.

Commenting upon the problems confronting new Canadians, Dr. Mann cited the second-generation immigrants as the ones who face the most intense emotional turmoil. People coming in fresh from European countries naturally seek out their own kind, associating with their own clubs, Churches, etc. and keeping, for the most part, their own ethnic culture. Their children, however, raised in Canadian schools have learned English and Anglo-Saxon ways of behaviour. Such behaviour is often in conflict with their parents' attitudes and expectations and they are torn between home loyalties and gaining acceptance with the group. Together with this, they face, as do their parents, intense hostility from the more indigenous groups in their neighbourhood who are resentful of their intrusion into the area. All this tends to disorganize and cause confusion and chaos inside the Inner City.

Of real concern at this time is the plight of the Church in the Downtown Area. Here, in spite of the budding suburban developments just ripe for the unifying force of the Church, and in spite of great church extension programmes, the building of new Church buildings and recreational facilities, the Church in the Downtown Area is in a tragic situation. Once great churches are now half-filled at best. Their fabric is decaying. They no longer minister to the needs of the people in the area and if it were not for the faithful alumni who often travel from great distances, and at times support sacrificially the existence of the Church building, the doors could not stay open. Actually, in most cities there are more people living in the downtown parishes than ever before.

The first concern of any parish is to minister to those within the parish bounds. For the church downtown, this often means reaching out to people who see practically no connection between contemporary church life and their own particular situation and who, by and large, exhibit little desire to investigate the claims of the church. This is not an easy task and it is one which requires a great deal of imagination, courage, boldness and resources. But if the church is to do her job, the job for which she was brought into being, if the Incarnation and Atonement are to be taken seriously, then she must of necessity make a significant impact upon the social and religious outlook of the people in the neighbourhood.

It was concern for the church in the Inner City, its plight, and particularly its mission which prompted the holding of a National Conference on the Church in the Downtown Areas in Toronto. This Conference sponsored by the Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church of Canada, and attended by 40 delegates from across Canada, was called for several reasons.

First, the Council for Social Service was anxious to have advice from Canadian clergy who have special experience and knowledge in this field as to what it ought to be doing to support and undergird the downtown church work of dioceses and individual parishes. Secondly, such a meeting provided an opportunity to learn about research and experimental work in the downtown areas in the United States and also in Canadian parishes. Thirdly, the Conference was designed to help those who are faced with the particular problems of the downtown parish to discuss these with others and to receive inspiration and practical help.

CHRIST'S CONCERN

Bishop Reed, one of four Bishops attending, in his meditation, at the opening Service of the Conference, recalled our Lord's concern for the city, and indeed, the concern with urban life which characterizes the whole of the New Testament. "Our Lord wept over the City because he saw what it might have been." The Bishop stated that God builds supernatural virtues on natural virtues, and reminded the Conference that the message of the Incarnation was not one of escape from city life, but rather of involvement in society by which, through the power of God, urban culture could be redeemed and the City of God built.

STRUCTURE OF THE INNER CITY

The Rev. Dr. W. E. Mann, a Sociologist from Toronto, described the specific character of the Inner City as one of permanent instability and transition. Everything, he said, including land use, use of residences, clubs, Churches and restaurants is in a state of transition. Those who have the aspiration and the intellectual capacity tend to move out from the downtown area towards the suburbs. Also each wave of immigration leaves behind its weak members. Thus the Inner City becomes characterized by a high proportion of unmarried males, great concentration of roomers, tremendous population mobility, concentration of sects, crime, vice, schizophrenia, mental defectives, etc.

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THE HIGH-RISE

The Church's work downtown is further complicated by the advent of the expensive "high-rise" apartment dweller. For various reasons, e.g. commuting problems, a desire to be near the entertainment centres, etc., many people are seeking residence in the downtown area, he said. This group represents a different class and social level than those usually inhabiting the district. Oddly enough, some of these people share two characteristics with the less wealthy inhabitants of the inner city; first, a social orientation around clubs which makes the cocktail lounge their parish-house; secondly, a desire for unstructured, anonymous, and "non-involvement" living. This group is very difficult to evangelize.

CO-OPERATION IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA

The need for co-operation among the downtown parishes at the diocesan level was the key-note of an address by Prof. John Morgan, Acting Director of the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto. He cited the Gordon Commission Report in its prediction that by 1980, 65 per cent of the population of Canada would be living in metropolitan areas as an indication of the revolution in thought and practice which the church must make if it is to be an effective instrument in redeeming a predominantly urban and industrial culture. Canada has become an industrial nation but the Church still conducts her affairs as though this had not happened. Too often, the Church downtown has been thought of as a piece of real estate maintained by an anxious vestry and supervised by a harassed clergyman who was always looking for money. The Church must not lose sight of her number one job which is the teaching and preaching of the Gospel; and the specific challenge facing the Church today is to make this Gospel relevant to the life and needs of the downtown area.

To do an effective job, he suggested, we must learn to think and work in the downtown area as a whole. Also, we must learn to integrate all the existing resources of the Church in the area to give a more effective service. The first resource of the Church is the laity and priests already in service. This is an age of specialists, he said, and some plan of co-operation among the parishes might allow priests with particular skills to use them beyond the parochial bounds while still serving their parishes in the customary functions. He felt that laymen were not challenged or given sufficient opportunity to use their particular talents as might otherwise be the case. "The Church does not consist simply of the assembled clergy," he said.

The second resource of the Church is its material in income, endowments and property. Professor Morgan suggested that some sort of assessment by responsible churchmen and business men be made of the finances of the Churches in the downtown area, especially keeping in mind the probable constituency the parish will serve. In the downtown area of one Canadian city, substantially more than 50 per cent of the Church's income was used for the purpose of maintaining buildings and he wondered if this was the wisest use of the parishes' income.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Reverend Paul Musselman, Executive Director of the Urban Industrial Division of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Episcopal Church, was the chief speaker and resource leader at the Sessions, having acted as consultant in the planning of the Conference. Mr. Musselman spoke of his department's activities, research and experimentation in the field of "urban evangelism".

Their first insight, and this is a disturbing one, he said, was that the problem which the Church faces in this present hour is not confined to just a few downtown parishes but rather the whole Church is faced with evangelizing a culture which is becoming increasingly urban and industrial. Also, this culture is resisting a Christian orientation. Whoever solved the problem of evangelism in the Inner City solved it for the whole culture. If we are to reach this culture, then it must needs be that the Church use contemporary thought forms. Unfortunately, the Church frequently evolved a structure and programme of evangelism unrelated to the thought patterns of urban-industrial society. "Too many clergy from the pulpit answer questions nobody asks, in terms nobody understands," he said. "We are still preaching in Elizabethan and Shakespearian thought forms to a culture oriented around the funny papers and the sports page."

EVANGELISM

The Church, he said, must be absolutely certain of what it seeks to do in its evangelistic endeavour. Generally speaking, when Anglicans think of evangelism, they think in terms of the Institution—the Church, and we are apt to fall into the trap of making the Church an end in itself. The New Testament speaks not of God loving the "Church", but the "world", and we must prove to people that the Church is not simply concerned with preserving the institution but is vitally involved in bringing about God's kind of world. Some of the most successful people in evangelism today speak of the Kingdom first rather than the Church. We are now in the Episcopal Church, he said, beginning to think of evangelism in terms of the "end" for which the Church was created.

Mr. Musselman commented on the fact that the Episcopal Church, by and large, was not meeting the needs of the spiritually uncommitted people of whom there are now over sixty million in the United States. This group is on the increase in spite of the so-called revival of religion. As population figures increase in the cities, the proportion of Anglican population declines. Church extension is something of a misnomer, he said. It would better be termed "Church re-location", but even at this, we are not holding our own. The question which we must face, and face at this moment, is whether we as a Church, are speaking just to our own culture, or are we endeavouring, in broader terms, to speak to the world outside. So often we initiate all sorts of Church programmes, expecting people to rhyme with them, whereas we should be involved with people in the processes of Christian social action. It helped him, he said, to think of evangelism as a "sales activity". "We have a good product, the best in the world, but the natives are not buying. This does not

mean that the content of the Gospel should be changed, but that the 'packaging' of it must alter if we are to reach the uncommitted. The Anglican Church cannot continue to survive as a chaplaincy to the English heritage," he warned.

We have a difficult time with evangelism until we reach the "I know because . . ." level of communication. Our experience is the best thing we have to communicate. "The world will argue with your theories but not with your experience." The spiritual experience that the laity have is the great unused technique of evangelism. The stage could be set more often for personal lay-witnessing in informal settings and groups with great advantage. He suggested that our failure to communicate with the "uncommitted" is the reason for the Anglican Church not producing its own leadership but depending upon those who have been brought up in other traditions for its "executive group". Although there is strength in the fact that we are able to attract others from different denominations, there is a real weakness when we are unable to bring people from the uncommitted group and nurture them into responsible leadership in the Church. Anglicanism has tended to become a post-graduate course in religion.

Mr. Musselman cited the conversion to Christianity of a Communist who had been sent to infiltrate a lower east-side parish in New York City as an example of how people are won. This particular parish was knee-deep in social action, i.e. working with teen-age gangs, concerned with community life, etc. This Communist, he said, was not impressed by such things as the music or preaching, or beauty of the liturgy, etc. but by the fact that he experienced for the first time in his life a fellowship of people who trusted each other. He saw love in action, and this is what impressed him. They really helped each other, they really loved each other, and it was this quality of Christian fellowship and concern for the community which led to his conversion to Christianity. This could only happen in a parish which had already established its social concern in the neighbourhood in terms and action which the people could understand.

Some evangelism, he said, is just trying to tease the horse with sugar so that you can put the harness on, and people are getting wise to that. You have to establish in the public mind the fact that you love the world as God loves the world, and demonstrate this by your works.

RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

Mr. Musselman commented upon the origin and work of his Department. The Episcopal Church's concern with the implications of urban culture was spark-plugged by about half a dozen priests who formed a group called the Urban Mission Priests. It was they who lit a fire and pressured the Church—at General Convention—into setting up a Department for Urban Industrial Church Work. The first insight realized through research, by this Department, was that the slum areas showed in high focus a disease which had spread even into suburbia; we are dealing with a deep illness—an endemic disease, in our culture, he said. The problem was so extensive that the whole church must be involved if any effective strategy was to be formulated. This would necessitate a great deal of costly experimentation and research. Mr. Musselman found that

certain Foundation money was available to support any work interested in redeeming the culture. With this financial backing, a five-year programme was developed which aimed at: (1) creating a climate of acceptance through widespread experimentation; (2) testing realistically, in parish situations, certain methods with a view to learning reproducible techniques whereby Christianity could be made more meaningful in an urban-industrial culture. Mr. Musselman's Department holds frequent conferences with clergy, ecumenical groups and clergy-laity groups.

We began to see, said Mr. Musselman, that something of what happened in France and Italy is beginning to take place in our present-day culture, i.e. the rejection of the Church by a nation. More and more people are becoming suspicious of the organized Church, and by and large, we are fighting a rear-guard action in the industrial areas. People are not sure that the Church is God's instrument for redeeming society or even that the organized Church is doing the will of God. This kind of thinking is increasingly evident in surveys calculated to determine the image of the Church in people's minds. Consequently, we are now beginning to "tool-up" for a battle for the culture and indeed for the whole world. Mr. Musselman felt that awakened Anglicanism can nurture the kind of leadership needed, and noted that there is a stirring of the heart in many places today. Urban Church pioneering is inevitably ecumenical and we will probably find, as we go along, that it is also basically revolutionary, he added.

THE CANADIAN SCENE

The Canadian priests presented the group with a first-hand insight into the work of the Church as it is now carried on in the downtown areas of three large Canadian cities. Each downtown Church must have a unique function in the community, said the Reverend D. F. Kemp, Rector, of St. George's Church, Montreal. A middle-class Edwardian approach is often inappropriate to the life of the Inner City. He suggested that some experimentation in the liturgy at the Evening Service could be embarked upon as a means of meeting the needs of the people. Visiting he felt was just as essential in the downtown parish as in suburbia, and that the Church has a definite responsibility towards the aged members in the community.

The Reverend Maurice Flint, Rector of Trinity East, Toronto, spoke of the group work and counselling service carried on in his parish and of some of the difficulties associated with ministering to a depressed area. He envisaged the primary task of his parish as that of communicating the Gospel to those within the parish bounds. Although seventy-five per cent of his parishioners were from outside the neighbourhood, and he would continue to minister to them in time of need, the Church's programme would be especially geared to meet the needs of those residing within the parish limits. The establishment of meaningful communication with this group could only be done, he felt, by a process whereby rapport and relationships, i.e. group activities were first established. Within the context of such a relationship, the tools of empathy and understanding could be gainfully employed to help these people obtain insight into their particular problems, and help them learn to use the strength and

capacity of their own personalities towards growth in maturity and independence. Only then could the implications of the Gospel and responsibilities in community and Church life be willingly accepted. Within these groups, lay-leadership was an important aspect of the work but one must earn the right from the group itself to lead, and this requires emotional maturity on the part of leaders.

The Reverend Canon T. D. Somerville, Rector of St. James Church, Vancouver, spoke of the unique ministry carried on in his parish. It is an Anglo-Catholic parish and because of its particular kind of sacramental emphasis, the Church was drawing many of its parishioners from outside the parish bounds. Basically, St. James is made up of three groups; the white-collar group living outside the neighbourhood, the drifters—skid-row, and those who live in the district—mostly pensioners and old people. He said that a recent survey indicated that within one square mile, which represents the parish bounds, there were no less than 3,000 single men living. One of the continuing tensions in the parish was that of trying to hold these three groups together in a meaningful relationship. However, Canon Somerville was quite certain that this, in some measure, could be done. He mentioned the use of laymen living in suburbia, in making surveys of the neighbourhood, the primary object being to establish contact with the people and to make friends.

DIOCESAN RESPONSIBILITY

The Very Reverend Paul Moore Jr., Dean of Christ Church, Indianapolis, pointed out that when a new Bishop receives a copy of the Holy Scriptures at his consecration, these words are said: "Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost." This clearly places the responsibility for the work of the Church in our cities squarely upon the diocese. To this end, we must develop an adequate parochial philosophy. Our parishes, by and large, have thought of themselves as groups of spiritually likeminded people who receive the ministrations of the Church—those who "attended the Anglican Church." Dioceses, for the most part, have done little to broaden this philosophy, and such inadequacies not only weaken the work of a particular parish but tend to foster parochialism. The most discouraging factor in Inner City Church life is the absence of leadership ability and leadership drive, he said.

He referred to a recent missionary enterprise established by the French Roman Catholic Church called "The Mission to France" as an example of the radical change in thinking of the French leaders in realizing that France was indeed a pagan country. Commenting on this, he pointed out that a mission is not merely a new, rather weak parish, but it is a place from which the Gospel is sent to a pagan culture. This entails a deep problem of communication, and an infusion of leadership and funds from the outside. Generally speaking, the financial councils of any enterprise wish a rapid return on the dollar and the new mission in the cellophane suburb is seen as a glittering investment, yielding a rapid return on the dollar. Financial assistance is needed for the Church downtown or else

the Church will become merely a suburban institution, losing its soul and its very life.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

The need for diocesan planning is most urgent if the Church downtown is to be saved. Dean Moore worked out a theory of diocesan planning, using the structure of a military campaign. First of all, information about the enemy and the terrain must be obtained. This would involve a careful survey of our strength in the downtown area and also the strength of the forces opposing the Church's mission. It may be that the closing of certain Churches would be indicated while the pouring in of resources into another parish would constitute the most effective approach. It is most important that research be done on a diocesan or Church Federation level so that the sociological factors present and projected in a given city may be ascertained, e.g. where the new expressways are being built, which slums are to be cleared, etc.

Secondly, information about friendly troops should be obtained. This would include, he said, a knowledge of the programme and plans of other Churches, and the possibility of integrating some of the work carried on in a particular area, while at the same time, safeguarding our theological position and sacramental integrity. Thirdly, the specific mission of the operation which has not always been too clearly understood would have to be defined. "Is it to save people from the world—to save them from the corrupted life of the inner city—or is it to redeem the world?" "As sacramental, incarnational Christians, we believe it to be the latter. As such, the Church in the Inner City must push herself into every aspect of the city's life." "What is not taken on, cannot be redeemed," he said. "The Church must become incarnate, must identify as far as possible with the culture of the city and with the people of the city."

To continue the analogy, the fourth consideration is that of supply. It is diocesan responsibility to see that particular parishes are supplied with financial assistance, together with adequate lay-leadership from other parishes.

IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY

Lastly, the most important and often neglected aspect of the ministry to the city, is that of communication of clergy with each other. "Without exception, every successful urban work I know of has had as its centre a community of leadership," he said. This may take various forms, e.g. a team ministry of clergy, their wives, and a Religious order (Jersey City); a team ministry of clergy, wives, Religious, lay professional workers (Trinity Lower East Side, New York); interdenominational ministry (East Harlem Protestant Parish); traditional rector and associates with a sense of community among them (St. Philip's, Harlem), etc. It is essential that communication of the clergy with each other be maintained in some sort of fellowship if morale is to be sustained and guidance of the Holy Spirit received. Besides, the pastoral relationship with their Bishop that urban clergy especially need, there should be a Diocesan Committee or Department with Urban Work as its sole concern.

The Diocese must enter upon such work with a high seriousness, fully aware not only of the glorious opportunities for service and evangelism, but also of the great cost of such an enterprise. "The urban experience has often been a crucifixion; with courageous diocesan leadership it can be an experience of resurrection, not only for the urban parishes themselves, but for the entire diocese."

NEW CANADIANS

The Reverend Dr. Jakob Jocz, Director of the Nathaniel Institute, Toronto, spoke of the problems confronting the Church in ministering to non Anglo-Saxon groups. This is a receiving country, he said, and there is tremendous pressure from outside by non Anglo-Saxons to make a new life in Canada. Anglicanism tends to be a middle-class Church and as such, does not represent a cross section of the population. The Anglican Church in urban areas is decreasing while the population is increasing. This urban population is becoming increasingly non Anglo-Saxon. We must adjust mentally and spiritually to meet this situation. This really means that the thinking and feeling of each congregation must be re-conditioned to a more ecumenical and catholic approach. Too often a particular parish simply seeks to hold on to its position in terms of the past, and this is hardly good enough. We must learn to convey to the non Anglo-Saxon that whatever our past, we are there for them, to meet their needs and problems.

PUBLIC MEETING

A highlight of the Conference was an evening meeting open to the public. Approximately 300 people were present, and heard Archdeacon Crosthwait, Rector of St. Clement's Church, and host of the Conference, challenge those present to think of the downtown area as the new missionary frontier of our age. So often, he said, the Church could be likened to Jonah in that he sought to run away from the job at hand. As was Jonah, so is the Church being called by God to do a redemptive work in the city. The heart of the city is the critical area of evangelism today—"He who has the heart of the city, has the whole city." He further stated that the Church is here to save souls not simply to balance budgets, and there is a grave danger that the Church downtown, often unrelated to the surrounding neighbourhood, becomes a private club for particular cliques. Every parish, he said, should have a unique function, recognizing its call from God to do this for the community.

At the same meeting, Mr. Musselman warned those present that the Church has tended to become neutralistic and if it is to survive it must dirty its hands in problems of justice, relationships, social conflicts, etc. We must "tool up" for a battle for the culture. The question which we must ask and face is whether we will remain a chaplaincy for the privileged, handing-out philanthropically to the under-privileged, or will we indeed be the Catholic Church ministering to the needs of the new space age?

MAJOR EMPHASIS

While no formal resolutions were passed, certain major emphases emerged from the presentations and discussions of the Conference. At the concluding session on Thursday morning, many implications arising out of the Conference experience were listed. Among the most significant were:

I—A NATIONAL AND DIOCESAN STRATEGY NEEDED

(i) The Inner City is a special missionary area typical of the new urban culture, requiring a re-thinking and new planning of the Church's work there.

(ii) Any consideration of the Church's rôle in the present urban culture must be placed in a theological context. The doctrine of the Incarnation must be given expression in terms of the "wholeness" of life; that is, the Church must be redemptively related to the entire culture.

(iii) There was an expressed need for research and studies concerning the Inner City in the various large centres of population, the community and Church resources available, and the particular need and opportunities in parishes concerned. This may be done on a diocesan or Church Federation basis.

(iv) It is urged that consideration be given to the convening of urban-industrial consultations in certain strategic centres where clergy and laity will be given the opportunity of looking realistically at the Church at work or as it should be at work in the downtown areas.

(v) The downtown area must be seen as a whole. The individual parish in that area cannot function effectively as an isolated unit. This necessitates co-operation among downtown parishes and indicates the responsibility which the dioceses face. Hence the need for a Diocesan strategy.

(vi) The hope was expressed that Diocesan Urban Boards or Committees might be established to assist the Diocese in its planning and provision of leadership.

(vii) The delegates agreed that The Theological Colleges have a responsibility in the orientation of pastoral theology courses to the new urban culture; that some means should be found whereby students may become familiar with what is happening in the culture by first-hand contact; and that some kind of in-service training should be provided for theological students.

(viii) It is important that clergy who are to work in the downtown areas should be selected because they have a vocation to this specialized ministry. Consideration should be given to the use of clergy with special skills beyond parish boundaries; and teams of lay workers, professionally trained and volunteers, from the local area and from uptown parishes, should be an essential element in the discharge of the Church's mission.

(ix) Concern was expressed about the isolation of clergy in downtown parishes and the Bishop's pastoral rôle in relation to these men was mentioned as one of the great strengths of the situation. It was also suggested that an Informal Anglican Urban Fellowship might be formed.

(x) It was recommended that the Council for Social Service, through an

appropriate Committee or Division might act as a resource and consultative centre and a clearing house for Dioceses and parishes; make provision for or facilitate research and experimentation on Diocesan and parochial levels; help to convene regional consultations and conferences on urban-industrial work; and in general, take steps to interpret to parishes, Dioceses, Theological Colleges, and to the nation as a whole the challenge and opportunity facing the Church in the Inner City.

II—THE DOWNTOWN PARISH

(i) Each parish in the downtown areas should give serious consideration to the proper functions of the parish buildings. There is a danger of "building worship" and a need in the downtown areas to de-emphasize church buildings and Church-centred programmes. It is not the ultimate function of the parish to bring people into a building but to use the buildings and parish programme as a working base by means of which the Holy Spirit may reach out to the fellowships and groups that do exist in that particular community.

Two of the great challenges for the Church are how to contact the natural groupings of people in the Inner City and how to knit those diverse groups into a worshipping community.

(ii) It was felt by the delegates that insufficient use was made of the local social agencies, and that these provided a unique opportunity for Christian witness. The possibility of establishing referral centres under the ægis of the Church in the downtown areas was discussed. Such centres could provide a counselling service, and a liaison with the secular social agencies.

(iii) A specialized ministry to various professional and craft groups working in the area (e.g. social workers, nurses, factory workers) is an urgent necessity.

(iv) The Church's necessary outreach to the non Anglo-Saxon living in the downtown areas makes it essential that there be a re-conditioning of the thinking and attitudes of Anglicans who in their daily contacts and through parish life will be working among them. The ministry of the laity is of the utmost importance in this regard.

(v) There was considerable discussion about "Communications" in connection with the unchanged and uncommitted in downtown areas. How to use existing media more effectively and the use of new and different resources was explored. Store-front churches, house churches, good music, community meals before or after services, literature that is appealing and especially attractive to ethnic groups, a flexibility in the kinds and times of services, and a specialized approach to hotels and apartments in the vicinity—these were some of the very practical suggestions considered.

Underlying all these suggestions was the basic thought that the vocation of the parish in the downtown area must be chosen and fostered as carefully as that of the individual.

SINGAPORE AND MALAYA, 1949-1960

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND H. W. BAINES

Formerly Bishop of Singapore; Bishop-elect of Wellington, N.Z.

THE foundation stone of St. Andrew's Cathedral in Singapore was laid in 1856. The building was completed and the Cathedral was consecrated by Bishop Wilson of Calcutta in 1862. For 50 years with the Cathedral in Kuching, it served the diocese of Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak comprising the central territories of British North Borneo and Sarawak, Singapore and Malaya with outposts among the English-speaking groups in Indonesia and Thailand and the remote communities of Christmas Island and the Cocos Islands. Then in 1909 the central territories were separated. The present diocese of Borneo and the diocese of Singapore became independent, each with its own Bishop appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. During the last 10 years, the two Island outposts were transferred to the care of the Archbishop of Perth, while a large addition was made to the responsibilities of the Bishop of Singapore in the care of the English-speaking groups in the new nations of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In 1959 the name of the diocese was changed to Singapore and Malaya to bring it more in line with the rapid developments which had been so striking a feature of recent years.

SEVEN CAPITALS

Of the seven capital cities in the diocese of Singapore and Malaya, all except one belong to territories which have become independent or self-governing nations since the end of the Second War. Most recently, Singapore achieved self-governing status within the Commonwealth in 1959. Malaya became independent, also within the Commonwealth, in 1959. South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos had preceded these in independence by a few years, while the Netherlands East Indies became independent Indonesia shortly after the war ended. Thus with baffling rapidity the political scene was transformed. Five new nations and one new state, Singapore, came to birth. Only Thailand continued uninterrupted its story as a Sovereign nation.

This advent of political freedom affected liberty of religion very little. Thailand, a Buddhist nation, has always shown religious toleration to others; indeed the sites on which Christ Church, Bangkok has stood during the last 100 years were both gifts of the King of Siam. In S. Vietnam the President and some other political leaders are Christians (Roman Catholics), and both Cambodia and Laos show a friendly attitude to Christian Missions. Indonesia, where we have churches in Djakarta

and Surabaia and six other centres of worshipping congregations served by the Vicar of Java and Sumatra, has safeguarded the freedom of religion in its Provisional Constitution. So has Malaya in its Constitution, where Islam is recognized as the religion of the States. In Singapore the rights of minorities, national and religious, are protected under the Constitution, and the present Government has shown that it recognizes the importance of religion in society and has expected the co-operation of Christian citizens in its measures of social reform, in education and in the guidance of political and other delinquents. This is the more impressive when it is remembered that very few of the Cabinet Ministers and even of the Members of the Legislative Assemblies of Malaya and Singapore have been or are Christians; fewer still Anglicans or Protestants. It has indeed been one of the saddest features of the movement to political independence in these territories that the local Christians have taken such a small part in it. Christian grace and Christian motives have been the acknowledged stay and guidance of generations of British administrators in recognizing the right of Malaya and Singapore to *merdeka* and preparing them for it, and many Asian Christians especially Indians, have courageously witnessed to their convictions during the early years of the Trades Union Movement and in educational reform, but for the most part Christians have not learnt or been taught to view political responsibility as part of their duty as disciples.

THE CHINESE DISPERSION

If the movement for political emancipation is the foremost feature of S.E. Asia another dominant factor in all the territories served by the diocese of Singapore and Malaya is the number of Chinese dispersed throughout them. Of the 23 million Chinese estimated to be living outside China, more than half are found within this Diocese. Even if no more were to join them in future, natural increase would mean that anything between 20 per cent and 90 per cent of the population of these nations would be Chinese. Except in Indonesia which has 5 million Christians in all, the majority of Christians in each of these territories is Chinese. Whichever way this fact is looked at it makes unmistakably clear that the Christian mission among the dispersed Chinese will be of decisive importance for the future of the Church in S.E. Asia. This has been increasingly recognized by the Church there, and the Anglican Communion has been paying special attention to both the facts and the opportunity at least since the Congress at Minneapolis in 1954. The Anglican S.E. Asia Council in Kuching in February of this year, which attended and took part in the consecration of the Rt. Rev. James Wong as Assistant Bishop of Borneo, received a report from the Conference of Chinese Clergy held in Hong Kong in 1959 under its own auspices and made some plans in response to the suggestions of the Conference to enlarge and redirect Anglican strategy among the Chinese Dispersion.

Additional money may soon be available to implement such a reconsidered policy, money which will open up undreamed of possibilities. Men also are coming into the service of the Church and its ministry in larger numbers. But the Anglican approach to the Chinese Dispersion

is a more intricate problem than can be solved simply by more men and more money, for the Chinese are involved in a series of delicate relationships among themselves as between Taiwan and Peking, and with the peoples among whom they have settled as in Indonesia, Borneo, Thailand, Malaya and South Vietnam. It is this, of course, which largely accounts for the political neutralism shown recently by many Chinese Christians, mentioned above. The danger of aligning any Christian movement with "Taiwan" is tragically obvious, but it would be no less impossible for Christians to allow themselves to be pushed into ignoring the needs or the potential of Taiwan for fear of being tarred with its political brush.

It would seem that this is a situation in which the Church should be guided by its own basic unit of the Diocese. In Singapore and Malaya, for example, the Church worships and lives both in multi-racial congregations, as in the Cathedral and all the older generation of Parish Churches in the State Capitals and also in vernacular congregations using Chinese dialect or Indian language, as in St. Paul's, Penang (Hokkien), St. Peter's, Ipoh (Cantonese), St. Stephen's, Yong Peng (Foochow) or St. James', Sentul (Tamil). I used to think that the ideal in the Diocese was to be found in the inter-racial congregations using one language, but though we can never be thankful enough for the gift we have inherited in the inter-racial congregations of the Cathedral and other Parish Churches, and though we may hope Malay and Kwo-Yu may be added to English as their lingua franca, yet so long as Chinese (or Tamil) congregations wish and believe themselves called to use dialect (or Indian language) for worship, these vernacular congregations also must find their place in the pattern of the worshipping Church. It is the function of the wider associations and especially of the Synod to *be* the Church in which such Chinese congregations can find their proper place and bring their characteristic contribution. In the same way so long as the diocese continues as the basic unit and rallying focus for mutual responsibility of congregations, the new drive which may be expected in winning the dispersed Chinese for the Church of Christ will be directed along lines which will neither arouse the jealousies of Indians (in Singapore and Malaya) or Dyaks (in Borneo) nor stir up the latent fear of Chinese domination which recent political events in Asia have greatly increased. Indeed one of the strongest arguments for the grouping of the Anglican Dioceses in S.E. Asia into a province is the need to give wider consideration to the Chinese dispersion than any single diocese can manage and to discover such a Church in S.E. Asia as will claim in mutual benefit the talents of the many peoples drawn into it.

THE CHURCH AND OTHER RELIGIONS

The scale of the Church's opportunity to evangelise the Chinese is very great both because of the numbers involved and of the religious condition of the Chinese themselves. In Singapore and in Malaya thousands of Chinese pass through school and college every year. Many are de-racinated from their ancestral traditions and live in a kind of religious vacuum. The door to evangelize them is wide open. Through its schools the Church introduces very many to a knowledge of the Gospel. Some during school and more later on come forward for Baptism and

Confirmation. Indeed it would be difficult to put limits to the tide of Chinese we could expect to flow into the Church if we had more Student Chaplains and more priests and workers ministering to their younger generation. The numbers attending the regular Baptism classes at the Cathedral show this to be no empty boast, not to mention the crowded Churches of other denominations and the frequented meetings of Missions of one kind and another.

The opportunity is no less but of another kind among the Chinese who were gathered into the New Villages during the Emergency in Malaya. Owing to the nearly simultaneous arrival in Malaya in and after 1951 of Chinese speaking missionaries from China, it has been possible to make a sustained approach to perhaps a third of the quarter of a million Chinese living in these settlements. The Gospel has been preached to them in their own languages, and it has been commended to them by the ministry of doctors and nurses who worked among their sick from the early days of the Briggs Plan. This mission, part of a wider movement sponsored and guided by the Malayan Christian Council, began a new chapter in the evangelization of the Chinese in Malaya. It is true that in the early days the apparent association of the missionaries with the Government and with semi-official agencies like the Red Cross was an obstacle to the acceptance of their message by people who regarded the Government often with indifferent suspicion and sometimes with resentment and hatred. Nevertheless, the patient ministry of British missionaries (mostly from C.M.S. or C.E.Z.M.S. and more lately greatly augmented by the O.M.F.) and of their Chinese colleagues, has not only brought numbers in the Villages to Christ, but also sown the seed of the Gospel in areas previously quite untouched. The Anglican Church now has roots down in 15 Villages where the growing Christian communities are being joined with neighbouring urban Parishes. The future of the Church here depends largely on the thoroughness of this integration and on the discovery of many more Chinese priests and workers, doctors and nurses, to continue what has been begun by Christians from overseas. All in all, though the numbers of Chinese reached by the Gospel in City or Village, among students or workers is still a very small proportion of the whole Chinese population, a significant movement has been developed among both groups.

ONE DIOCESE—MANY MISSIONS

It will be apparent that much of this new drive in the New Villages is due to the arrival of missionaries from China. Though the Diocese was sponsored by S.P.G. and still draws much of its resources in men and women from S.P.G., it was from other Societies that missionaries have for the most part, been recruited since 1950. Men and women have been coming to Malaya who had been trained and assigned for service among the Chinese by C.M.S. with C.E.Z.M.S. (13, 4 priests) and by the Overseas Missionary Fellowship of C.I.M. (30, 8 priests). In addition Chinese workers have come from Hong Kong to join the C.M.S. team in the Villages. A big new force has been added to the Church's mission among the Chinese and, as time has passed, among English-speaking congre-

gations also in Petaling Jaya and Kuantan and Singapore. The work of training the laity in discipleship has been greatly set forward by, for instance, Canon Carpenter, Dr. Cole and Rev. C. W. Ellison who have led the Schools of Discipleship in teaching missions using Chinese and English in Malaya and Singapore. Moreover, these workers drawn from the evangelical tradition arrived at a time when the Church urgently needed men who would build bridges between it and the large numbers of young people affected and drawn by such movements as Youth for Christ and others further from the centre like Seventh Day Adventism. In many cases especially among Chinese congregations, our more recently arrived workers are doing much both to increase the evangelistic momentum of the Church and to interpret to one another the disciples brought up to follow Jesus in diverse traditions, using sometimes mutually exclusive vocabularies, and viewing one another with wasteful suspicion. For this and for much more in terms of friendship, counsel and witness, the Church in the Diocese has cause for thankfulness in all that C.M.S. and O.M.F. have brought. The whole society of the Church is being enriched.

At the same time varieties of teaching and the introduction of new loyalties have brought tension as well as enrichment. Often the younger generation is puzzled by the varieties of teaching from our pulpits—if it has not been already alienated altogether by the attitude to one another of different denominations of professing Christians; and sometimes that puzzlement hardens into unlovely prejudice. Englishmen have the humiliating experience of watching the reproduction among Malaysians of the mutual suspicions which so often disfigure Church life in England. And these troubled relations can no longer be kept among the older generation whose members do not move far from the place of their upbringing, for as in England so in Malaya families and individuals move constantly from place to place and parish to parish. Further, the increase of Youth Camps and regional conferences and the annual Session of Synod mean that Churchmen in the Diocese meet more often in council and for worship in different places and on strange ground, where they are surprised by what they see and hear if worship is conducted and the Gospel preached after an unfamiliar tradition. Is that a bad thing? Is it regrettable if the teaching of one preacher sounds like criticism of another, or should disciples benefit from freedom to think for themselves? Is variety of Use and in outward acts of devotion in Church to be avoided? Or is each to conform in credal affirmation (in Creed or Hymns) and in acts of reverence and devotion only so far as he can assent with full understanding to what the words or the acts signify? These are questions which might usefully be asked in the older provinces of the Anglican Communion. They demand attention in the younger. Nobody seriously believes nowadays that variety of symbol, ceremonial or outward devotion helps the congregation or the individual. It perplexes and weakens both, for it denies them the experience of glorifying God in harmony or unison and it carries with it the suggestion that members of the same congregation are not of one mind not only about outward signs but also about the inward truth they indicate. And if that is true of the worshipping congregation, how much more true is it of the effect upon an

enquirer of coming to church! And how straitly is the Church hobbled in evangelizing the millions of questing, uncommitted men and women around them!

Of course it is not easy to evolve from the various traditions which enrich the Anglican Communion a united articulation of theology and a common usage in worship but these are what the situation in Malaya deeply require, and this is a task within the reach of a Diocese which numbers among its members children of various schools of Ecclesia Anglicana. When the Church teaches and proclaims the Gospel of Christ with one voice and when it is united in its teaching of the Body of Christ in terms relevant to the Malayan scene, and when it celebrates His wonderful works in a liturgy in which all can share *ex animo*, then the hungry multitudes will be led to find the life which the Good Shepherd offers.

BUDDHISM AND ISLAM

Though on only a small scale the Church's mission touches the Chinese closely in Singapore and Malaya. Plans are being made to open up work among the large Cantonese community in Cholon (Saigon) but little has been done by the Anglicans among the millions of Chinese in either Indonesia or Thailand. In each of these latter territories the chief mission has been in the hands of other denominations. The American Presbyterians following the Roman Catholics have led the way in Thailand for 150 years where the S.P.G.'s schools in Bangkok did not embrace Chinese. In Indonesia the Dutch missions, Roman Catholic and Reformed, have dominated the scene for twice as long. The Anglican Church limited its work to the care of its own people especially the English speaking congregations in the capital cities, where the Churches of the Protestant Community have enjoyed the ministry of Anglican clergymen for more than 100 years in almost unbroken succession, though often interrupted by long gaps while a new Chaplain was being found. During these intervals Lay Readers have carried on the regular services. A noble tradition has been built up in Djakarta and Surabaia and Subang (Java), in Sumatra, and in Thailand and has now been extended to cover Phnom Penh in Cambodia and Saigon. The rôle of Readers includes Britons, Americans and Indians.

But this devoted ministry was limited to our own Anglicans, whether European or Asian, and did not concern itself for the most part with the people of the country except when they were attracted to the Church and attended its services as is happening increasingly in Djakarta. The outward mission of evangelism was in the hands of other denominations and the Anglicans did not feel called to take an active part in what was being effectively done by others, nor to confuse the issue. Nevertheless the presence of Anglican congregations with their ministers in great centres of Buddhism and Islam brings to our Church a strategic opening both for studying these religions and their disciples more closely and for witnessing to Christ among them. Moreover there are signs that there are features in Anglicanism which make a special appeal to Asians. Not the least part of the ministry of the present vicar of Java and Sumatra lies in interpreting our religion to Indonesians who have not yet found their

spiritual hunger satisfied elsewhere. Both in Indonesia and in Thailand our small congregations have within the last few years drawn more closely to the Churches of the country, the Church of Christ in Thailand and the Indonesian Christian Churches. In Indonesia, there are 5 million Christians, many of them converted from Islam, and it is important that our solitary priest in that vast Empire who has enough work for three in ministering to the English-speaking congregations in Java and Sumatra, should be helped by at least one colleague equally capable of serving the far flung community, making fellowship with Indonesian Christians and so grasping the language that he can study Indonesian Islam.

The same applies to Bangkok where a Chaplain enjoys unusual opportunity not only of ministering to the S.E.A.T.O. and diplomatic and commercial communities but also of studying Buddhism in a nation wedded to that religion and devoted to it without political confusion. If it is important that our nations should be well represented diplomatically in these great cosmopolitan capital cities, it is no less important that the Anglican Church should also be well represented as Ambassadors of Christ among the disciples of other world religions.

“ SANDALS AT THE MOSQUE ”

In Malaya it has never been possible for Christians to proclaim the Gospel among the Malays as freely as they have shared it in Indonesia. While they were free to practice their own religion without hindrance there was for many years a tacit understanding which is now enforced by regulation, that the Christian religion should not be publicly preached or taught to Malays or in Malay districts. Many Malays sent their children to our schools among others but the same understanding obtained. Recently notice has been given by the Government that in schools receiving Government Grant the Christian religion must not be taught during school hours. This only underlined what had in fact been the well established practice for many years. But the fact that State Governments should find it expedient to renew publicly such a restriction does indicate that Malay religious leaders are following a defensive policy with new vigour and that protests in the Press against some (not mostly Anglican) schools for compelling reluctant students to listen to Christian teaching or attend acts of Christian devotion have found a receptive audience in political circles concerned to weaken or banish Western influence. In two of our schools the distribution of the population is increasing the proportion of Malays to non-Malays to half the total or even more. By itself this would mean that the Christian teachers and students in these schools had an opportunity to influence Malays more widely than before; and in a country where the direct presentation of the Gospel is not permitted, the Christian schools form the chief place where Malays encounter not only Christian words but Christian disciples and a Christian community. The problem of the future, however, is likely to grow more searching because a demand may be made for facilities for the teaching of Islam in the premises of Christian schools and during school time. Those who have to lead our schools and guide the Diocese through such dilemmas, deserve our constant prayers.

In addition to the ministry of our schools to Malay students there is the relation of our whole Anglican community to the Malay people of the country. At present due to the sensitiveness of the Moslem leaders communication between the two religions has nearly vanished. It is hardly possible in Malaya for a Christian to take off his "sandals at the Mosque." To keep the doors open for communication, to build a section or two of one span of a bridge between Christianity and Islam is in present circumstances as much as we can attempt. But even that is not being done. What is needed is that we should pray into existence another man to resume and lead the mission of studying and understanding Malay Islam. Perhaps more than one man can be found, for, with the great increase in the use of Malay as the language of the nation and a *lingua franca*, Malay literature will be more read and some thaw may be expected in the sorry frost preventing all flow of understanding between Christianity and Islam. Perhaps some of the genial friendships between Malays and Western Christians may grow to include open communication about religion where now prejudice and ignorance rule almost undisputed.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY

Political changes are bringing about a gradual reduction in the numbers of Europeans in Singapore and Malaya; the Indian and Chinese communities both increase. Due to the scattered nature of both these they demand more ministers than if there were only large towns to consider. The New Villages and their Chinese populations have already been mentioned. The Indians too are distributed all over Malaya in little pockets, on rubber estates, at railway centres and in the Service Bases in Singapore. The Indian priest in Selangor visits between 15 and 20 centres. His colleague in Singapore must serve groups scattered throughout the Island and speaking Hindustani, Malayalam and Telugu, as well as his native Tamil. It seems presumptuous to plan to serve so many of our own people dwelling in so many distant areas. It sounds wildly visionary to accept an obligation to evangelize also so many millions of Chinese and Indians, not to mention the hardly accessible Malays in these territories. Yet for all our small numbers it is to this that we are called in the Diocese of Singapore and Malaya by the Lord who can save by many or by few.

Twelve years ago there were half as many priests as there are now. Then in 1948 Trinity Union Theological College was formed in Singapore under the auspices of the Methodists, the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. Since then under God's good hand, the numbers of men offering for training, entering the College and being ordained, has steadily mounted. Before the Second War all the English priests in the Diocese were trained in England, the Indians in India or Ceylon, the Chinese in China or Hong Kong. Now we train all our own men in Singapore. They go to Trinity Theological College for a four-year course for which they get a Diploma in Theology. They live in St. Peter's Hall, the Anglican Hostel, whose staff is hopefully international; the warden, a Norwegian born, was a C.M.S. missionary in West China; the sub-warden is an American priest from Yale, a gift of the American Church; the lecturer taught for

more than 25 years in Peking under Bishop Norris. The enrolment of St. Peter's Hall for 1961 is already full with a student body including Chinese, Indians, and a Malay. *Laus Deo!* Fifteen men whom I ordained added to those serving the Diocese before 1949 and to those who have joined it from elsewhere, add up to a total of 60 priests. The future of our Church depends greatly upon its discovering more men to follow the first 15 (9 of whom were born in Malaya) and the present students in St. Peter's Hall in its Ministry. Of the Clergy at present in the Diocese, 56 take services in the English language, 35 in the Chinese language, 16 in Indian languages and one in the Malay language.

These numbers are small enough in face of the needs and opportunities sketched above, but the Church looks forward in hope. It is becoming more nearly the Church of the country with a ministry drawn from its own sons, trained on its own soil. Under increasingly Asian leadership, the work begun and tended by men and women from the West and later from India and China is being developed in a happy partnership of mutual service between East and West.

CHURCH RELATIONS

Reference has been made to three fields in which co-operation between the Churches in the Malayan Christian Council has brought a visible harvest: Trinity Theological College, the work in the New Villages, and the work among students in the University of Malaya in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. Working together in these common enterprises Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and others have recently been led through theological conversations to seek a closer union. This quest has made what seemed like slow and difficult progress, but recently the tempo has hastened under the influence of the Church of South India and similar movements in other parts of the world, and through the realization of the weakness which handicaps the whole Christian movement so long as the denominations remain separated.

At its last Synod the Diocese agreed to appoint delegates to join those of other Churches in negotiations whose object is, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to be drawn into a Church united according to the mind of Christ and by His means. There is a long way to go, but this agreement marks the first real step along it.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

BY THE VENERABLE C. T. WOOD
Archdeacon of Cape Town

IN the comparative lull in the South African situation at the time of writing (August) it is possible to attempt an assessment of the recent events and of the Church crisis that arose from them.

On March 21st 1960 two widely separated outbreaks occurred in the Union of South Africa, one at Sharpeville in the Transvaal and the other at Langa, a Native township on the outskirts of Cape Town some 900 miles away. At Sharpeville the police fired on a demonstration of Africans which resulted in the deaths of 68 and the wounding of over 150. In the Cape Town outbreak only three were killed. But the ultimate importance of these two demonstrations has been in reverse proportion to the number of casualties.

The tragedy of Sharpeville focused the attention of the whole world upon South Africa and the reaction of the World Press was unanimous in their condemnation. It was however the subsequent demonstrations by between 30,000 and 40,000 Africans in the adjacent townships of Langa and Nyanga in the Cape over the course of the following three weeks that have made a lasting impact and have had consequences which are of the utmost significance. For they brought home to every thinking South African the bankruptcy of the Government policy in their total refusal to consult responsible African leaders; their inability to deal with any demonstration except by a policy of legalised violence and brutality; and the failure of a rule of law resulting in a state of emergency being proclaimed which has lasted for over 100 days. They also pin-pointed for all who were concerned over the many frustrations of the African people what their fundamental grievance was: the whole body of legislation covering the Pass Laws and their execution.*

CHRISTIAN PROTEST

The fundamental tragedy of the Christian witness has been that the Churches within the situation have been unable to speak with one voice. With all humility it can be claimed that the Church of the Province of South Africa has borne the longest and most consistent witness against all legislation covering compulsory apartheid whenever it has been enacted and has been unhesitating in protest against all discrimination based solely on the grounds of colour. And such protests have been addressed to its own congregations by Provincial, Episcopal and Diocesan Synods

* For a recent examination of this, see *The Badge of Slavery*: Benson: Christian Action: price 9d.

just as firmly as they have been addressed to the Government. As long ago as 1930 the Bishops of the Province laid down a fundamental consideration which has been the guiding principle for all subsequent pronouncements: "We believe that rights to full citizenship in any country are not dependent on race or colour, but on men's fitness to discharge the responsibilities which such citizenship involves." Twenty-two years later the Rt. Revd. C. W. Alderson, when Bishop of Bloemfontein, said this in his charge to his Synod and it can serve as the epitome of the Church's attitude: "... if we accept Christ as Lord, is it not a shocking betrayal of faith and hope and love that we will not even try the way of friendship, discussion, mutual honour and trust, where Africans are concerned, because of a blasphemous assumption that God, God Himself, the Father of Jesus Christ, made pigmentation a permanent sign of subordination, inferiority, and humiliation, among his creatures."*

Since the Nationalists came into power in 1948 and have entrenched the ideology of apartheid in every walk of life the clearest summary of the Anglican Church's position can be traced in Archbishop Clayton's Charges published this year.†

The Anglican Church has not stood alone. In 1954 at Evanston the World Council of Churches issued its historic declaration that segregation is contrary to the Gospel, incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and the teaching of the Church of Christ. It is of the utmost importance to recall that two branches of the Dutch Reformed Church (the N.G.K. of the Transvaal and the Cape) were members of the assembly but felt compelled to refrain from voting on that resolution.

The local body of the World Council of Churches, the Christian Council of South Africa comprising 23 reputable Christian Churches and Missions with the notable exceptions of the Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches, have consistently protested again and again against the fragmentation of society in South Africa due to this apartheid policy and immediately after the disturbances of March called for an enquiry into the underlying causes of the outbreaks, which it called a shock to the Christian conscience of South Africa. The Roman Catholic Church put out a similar statement. The Dutch Reformed Churches felt unable to associate themselves with these protests and some weeks later showed that they still supported the policy of apartheid: "The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk has made it clear by its policy and by synod statements in the past that it can justify and approve of the policy of independent distinctive development, provided it is carried out in a just and honourable way, without impairing or offending human dignity. The church has also accepted that this policy, especially in its initial stages, would necessarily cause a certain amount of disruption and personal discomfort and hardship, for example in connection with the clearing of slums. The whole pass system must be seen in this light."

It is this attitude on the part of the most influential Christian body within South Africa that has caused the leaders of the Anglican Church to say that they would find it difficult to continue to associate with them in the World Council of Churches, since we appear to hold a diametrically

* *Racialism in South Africa*. S.P.G. 1954, pp. 7 and 17.

† *Where We Stand*. Edited by C. T. Wood. O.U.P. 1960, price 5s.

opposite point of view on what we hold to be a fundamental Christian principle. The full text of the Archbishop of Cape Town's statement is as follows:

"The over-riding factor is the future of the Christian Faith so far as the millions of Africans in this country are concerned. This is far more important than inter-Church politeness or formal relations. Everyone in close contact with the African knows that we have reached a parting of the ways: if he cannot now be convinced of the reality of Christianity he will turn against the Faith for good. Unfortunately he is at present quite certain that the Church stands for White domination and White superiority and if there is to be any hope of regaining his confidence at all every Church must state categorically its repudiation of such an ideology.

In the light of the events that took place on March 21 and subsequently, the disastrous effects of the logical outworking of an *apartheid* policy are now plain for all to see. Whereas in the past there might still have been some excuse for Christian bodies to cherish the hope that this was a workable proposition which could find expression in accord with Christian principles, the terrible happenings of the disturbances and the means of repressing them can leave no room for doubt in any Christian breast. To every Christian now compulsory *apartheid* should be clearly recognizable for the sin it is. It is as blatant, perhaps a more blatant, denial of the New Testament commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself as the sin of adultery."

The issues at stake are ones on which Anglicans dare not compromise. However much they may have failed in putting these fundamental principles into practice, *apartheid* has been repudiated at the highest level of diocesan and provincial synods; and where it still exists, it exists against the declared mind of the Church.

There for the present the matter rests. Dr. Billheimer from the World Council Secretariat has visited South Africa, as also has Dr. Stephen Bayne on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is suggested that a conference of the associate Churches within the World Council should be held in the Union early in 1961. Should such a meeting materialise it is to be hoped that this will clarify the position for the plenary meeting of the World Council in Delhi later in the year.

THEOLOGICAL TRAINING IN THE YOUNGER CHURCHES

REVIEWED BY THE REV. DAVID M. PATON*

A Seminary Survey by Yorke Allen Jr. New York:
Harper and Brothers \$10.00.

THIS comprehensive and mortifying survey of the institutions in which men are trained for the Ministries of the Protestant (which in U.S. usage includes Anglican), Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America, ought to be accessible to churchleaders, colleges and missionaries everywhere. Nothing like it has ever been done before. It provides with a wealth of statistics and some remarkably candid quotations from letters from principals of colleges, mission board secretaries and so on, an unmatched picture of the institutions for ministerial training of all levels as they were about three years ago. It has also to be said that it does not purport to answer the deeper questions about what theological training *is*, and about the nature of the ministry for which men are trained; and what is more serious, the author seems unaware that such questions are not merely "interesting considerations" but of the very first importance. But within its limits (and its occasional omissions—for some reason or other the original survey failed to cover a dozen or so institutions, among them, surprisingly, the Central Theological College of the N.S.K.K. in Tokyo) this is a remarkable book.

It originated, Dr. C. W. Ranson explains in a foreword, in a letter Dr. Ranson wrote to Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to seek his support in the creation of a fund for the improvement of theological education in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The International Missionary Council, of which Dr. Ranson was then General Secretary, had long been concerned about the inadequacies of theological education. It had promoted surveys and conferences, but it had no funds with which to implement their conclusions.

Mr. Rockefeller's response was to invite Mr. Yorke Allen, a member of his staff, to prepare a comprehensive survey of the existing positions; and *A Seminary Survey* is, substantially, his report. The result was the foundation of the Theological Education Fund by the authorization of the Ghana Assembly of the I.M.C. with a capital of \$4,000,000, half coming from eight major American mission boards and half from Mr. Rockefeller's Sealantic Fund.

* The Revd. D. M. Paton, Secretary of the Council for Ecumenical Co-operation of the Church Assembly, was Dean of the Fukien Union Theological College, Foochow, from 1947 to 1950.

The Theological Education Fund, of which Dr. Ranson is now Director and whose principals of operation are set out in Appendix C, is working on the following lines:

First, it is selecting for major help about 20 institutions which "on the basis of their strategic location, the excellence of their present work, and their plans for development, offer the greatest possibilities for qualitative growth."

Second, it has prepared a library list of 5,000 fundamental books, and is offering sums of varying amount to a very much larger number of institutions to enable them to make purchases from this list according to each college's needs and desires. [This list has been very carefully compiled and would merit the attention of theological college librarians elsewhere than in the "younger churches." It is obtainable from Blackwell's, Oxford.]

Thirdly, it is working out co-operative plans and support for a greatly increased range of theological text books in the vernaculars.

There is thus real hope that in the two aspects of missionary work which have been the subject of more aspiration and exhortation and less action than any others—theological education and Christian literature—substantial progress will be made. [Indeed it has already started: some of the most shocking facts in *A Seminary Survey* are already out-of-date.]

The facts as detailed are gloomy enough. A self-critical Anglican eye is likely to pick out the Anglican colleges: and it's owner may come to feel that we Anglicans have been sinners above all others: but Dr. Ranson in conversation has assured me that this is not so. All the same, situations of this kind (all Anglican) bear thinking about:

"In 1958 the roof of the classroom building had fallen in to the point where one classroom was no longer available for use, and the prospect was that the remaining classrooms might also have to be abandoned. The estimated cost . . . could not be raised within the diocese, even on an emergency basis. Consequently, in the absence of special support from abroad, the school was contemplating closing for six months or so in order to be able to accumulate the needed repair funds within its own regular budget."

"With a staff of one missionary (plus occasional part-time assistance) it has not had more than half a dozen students enrolled in it at any one time . . . Its admission standards were lower than those maintained at the other theological schools in the country."

"This seminary was reopened in 1955 after several years of inactivity. Approximately 17 students are reported to be studying for the priesthood there. The level of training is said to be below that provided by the other school in the country."

"This school can barely be classified as a seminary . . . Although it was founded over 30 years ago, it continues to be a weak institution."

Tables 177 and 178 towards the end of the book give the percentages of total income which selected boards spend on theological education overseas. The U.S. average is 5.8 per cent (which the author considers to be far too low); the two C. of E. societies listed spend .45 per cent (the lowest) and 1.96 per cent (the highest in Britain).

All this suggests that theological education needs to benefit largely

from the "budgets of opportunity" formulated by the Societies in the new verified appeal, and also that further discriminating assistance might come from the Central Fund which the Overseas Council is being urged to form. *A Seminary Survey* will be a valuable tool in the necessary deliberations.

But this clouded story (in which there are of course some much brighter gleams of sunshine—I have dwelt on the gloom because I think we pay far too little attention to the training of native clergy, though we think it a pleasant change when one shows up in our parish) also suggests that we have been beset by fundamental doubts.

Of these two may be selected as fundamental. First, what kind of ministry does the church need? The old dilemma has been that a highly educated ministry which can produce leaders who can in due course replace missionaries readily grows out of touch with the villages and demands (*and needs*) higher salaries than the villages can support, while on the other hand a simple village ministry cannot meet the demands of the rapidly increasing numbers of educated people or produce leaders for a day of nationalism and independence. Perhaps we are being forced back, then, to Roland Allen and his advocacy of a non-professional unpaid ministry for the villages backed by a highly-trained properly paid professional ministry of smaller numbers and higher quality. This is in fact the conclusion of Bishop Lesslie Newbigin and is being worked out in the Church of South India [see his address in *A Decisive Hour for the Christian Mission* (S.C.M. Press).]

The other question goes deeper still. What is theological education? Is it a business of cramming pat answers into the heads of academically poor-grade students? Or to produce pale imitations of these Western clergymen? Or even to put down in Asia and Africa the nearest approximation we can contrive to Cuddesdon or Ridley Hall or King's College, London? All these we have tried. Allen said that the right ministry is that which provides for the actual needs of the Church (and not for some reflection of ideals of another time and age). For Herbert Kelly, S.S.M., said that the duller the student the more important it is to teach him to think for himself; to think theologically about God and His works in the world. [His thought may be pursued in *The Gospel of God* (S.C.M. Press) and *No Pious Person* (Faith Press). It will be found rewarding.] We have hardly begun this task, anywhere. Until it is truly taken in hand—with all the enormous demands it will make, notably on our thought, sympathy, and imaginations—there will be but little contribution made by our theological colleges to a truly indigenous Christian intellectual tradition: Christian thought will be either orthodox but lifeless and sterile because foreign, or indigenous and lively but heretical.

(EDITORIAL *continued from page 100*)

The Central Committee also took action to bring the concerns of the Commission on Faith and Order more centrally into the work of the World Council. It authorised the enlargement of the present executive staff from one to three, urged it to take a more active role in regional faith and order conferences and authorised it, when invited, to provide consultative services to merging churches. The Committee approved a statement of the Faith and Order Commission's triennial meeting. This statement declares that "the unity sought is primarily a local unity, one which brings all in each place who confess Christ Jesus as Lord into a fully committed fellowship with one another through one baptism into Him, holding the one apostolic faith, preaching the one gospel, and breaking the one bread, and having a corporate life reaching out in witness and service to all." But the statement emphasises that the unity sought "is not one of uniformity nor a monolithic power structure."

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Edinburgh House Press has recently published three books relating to the World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh 1910. In *Beginning at Edinburgh* (2/6), Dr. Hugh Martin describes the ecumenical developments of the past fifty years. The Reverend Kenneth Slack answers many questions about the relations of the Churches in *The Ecumenical Movement* (2/-) and provides in *The Christian Conflict* (6/-) an interesting presentation of the world problems of nationalism, Communism and racial tension facing the Church at home and overseas.

To those who are concerned about the *raison d'être* of the whole missionary movement and the adequacy of its methods in the modern world, we would particularly commend Donald McGavran's book *How Churches Grow* (World Dominion Press, 12/6). Towards the end of his book the author says—"The characteristic of missions today is a puzzled defensiveness." This defensiveness may well impede a ready acceptance of some of the author's penetrating criticisms of missionary policies and methods. His chief concern is that missions everywhere should subject themselves to a realistic assessment of the *actual church growth* which has taken place in their fulfilment of their fundamental task of *discipling* all nations. He feels that churches are too prone to accept a philosophy of gradualism and have in many cases not begun to face the challenge of the whirlwind success achieved by transatlantic cults which offer no social service programme and which operate without a trained ministry. He challenges the perfectionism which clings to such statements as "What we need is not more Christians but better Christians", in the course of his realistic analysis of the factors which affect the growth of the Church.